



The Antiquary.



JUNE, 1901.

Notes of the Month.

THE annual meeting of the Society of Antiquaries was held on St. George's Day, Viscount Dillon presiding. The following gentlemen were elected president, council, and officers for the ensuing year: President, Viscount Dillon; vice-presidents, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, Sir E. M. Thompson, and Mr. A. J. Evans; treasurer, Mr. Philip Norman; director, Mr. F. G. Hilton Price; secretary, Mr. C. H. Read; and Messrs. W. Paley Baildon, Ernest Crofts, and Lionel Cust, the Rev. E. S. Dewick, Sir John Evans, Messrs. A. Higgins and R. R. Holmes, Sir H. H. Howorth, and Messrs. A. H. Lyell, W. Minet, W. L. Nash, R. Nevill, R. G. Rice, and E. T. Whyte.

At the annual meeting of the trustees of Shakespeare's birthplace and Anne Hathaway's cottage, held early in May, the executive committee reported that 31,748 persons paid to go through the poet's house, and nearly 14,000 Anne Hathaway's cottage, in addition to a large number of free admissions. During the year fifty-two nationalities were represented. At New Place, Shakespeare's last residence, most interesting discoveries had been made, consisting of a very ancient well, portions of two fifteenth-century brick walls, and the remains of the foundations, 2 feet in thickness, which formed the eastern portion of the great house built by Sir Hugh Clopton in the reign of Henry VII., subsequently the property of Shakespeare under the title of New Place.

VOL. XXXVII.

The latter was a discovery of great importance to Shakespeareans, as it enabled them to form a better idea of the dimensions of the house where the poet spent the last few years of his life, and in which he died. The committee also announced a large number of valuable presentations to the library and museum at Shakespeare's house from donors in various parts of England and America, including the volumes formerly belonging to Mrs. Mary Cowden Clarke, the compiler of the well-known concordance.

Mr. St. John Hope, M.A., F.S.A., has completed his series of reproductions of the splendid enamelled and painted gilt metal stall plates of the Knights of the Order of the Garter. To the antiquary, the herald, and the genealogist these stall plates are of special value, while as a chronological series of examples of armorial art they are unrivalled. The present volume, which will be issued immediately by Messrs. Archibald Constable and Co., covers the Plantagenet period (from 1348 to 1485). The stall plates are represented full-sized and in colours, while each plate is accompanied by descriptive and explanatory letterpress, with reproductions, in many cases, of the seals of the knights, reproduced from casts specially taken for this work.

On Thursday, May 16, Mr. F. Haverfield, F.S.A., gave the first of a course of six lectures at University College, London, on "Roman Britain." The subdivisions of the subject for the lectures, which were announced to be given on successive Thursdays at 4 p.m., and were to be open free to the public, were: (1) "Previous Writers on Roman Britain from 1100 to 1900 A.D."; (2) "Sketch of the Roman Conquest"; (3 and 4) "The Military Occupation, Army, Forts," etc.; (5 and 6) "The Civilization of the Non-Military Districts, Towns, Villages," and "The Sequel in Post-Roman England." Mr. Haverfield's mastery of his subject is well known to our readers.

Several finds, mostly of minor importance, are reported from different parts of the country and abroad. A good specimen of a stone axe, of fine shape, and in good pre-

servation, is stated to have been unearthed in Kincardineshire. At Pleguien, near St. Brieuc, in the neighbourhood of Calais, a farmer, while working in his fields, discovered a cavity in the clay, in which were 180 bronze axes. The field is close to an old main road, and the find may perhaps be part of the stock of a Celtic merchant, as all the axes are the same size.

✿ ✿ ✿

The death of Bishop Stubbs, of Oxford, removes one of the most learned and thorough of modern historians. *Literature* lately printed a letter, not before published, written by Professor Freeman in 1879, which gives an excellent appreciation of the late Bishop on his intellectual side. The letter was addressed to Dr. Sandys, of Cambridge, with the object of enabling him to present properly Dr. Stubbs's claims to an honorary degree. In it Freeman says: "He just knows everything, and has it all at his fingers' ends. When I was travelling with him in Germany, I thought it something if I knew my Emperors right; but at each place he could tell the Dukes and Bishops and Landgraves, and, I believe, the Burger-meisters to boot. Then, nobody knows how he gets his knowledge, as he is not commonly seen getting it. Some think it is revealed to him in his sleep, like Edward the Confessor, the more so as he sleeps more than other men."

✿ ✿ ✿

Excavations have recently been made by the Edinburgh Society of Antiquaries at Inchtuthill, in the grounds of Sir Alexander Muir Mackenzie, Bart., of Delvine, near Dunkeld, Perthshire. It has been long known that there was an important Roman camp here. There is a map of the camp in Roy's *Military Antiquities of the Romans*, issued in 1755. This map shows a square camp in the meadow in front of Delvine House, crossed by Via Principalia, with an entrenched fort on the south-west, and a strong redoubt to the south-east. Inchtuthill, one of the derivations of which is "the island in the flooded stream," was once surrounded by the Tay, which flowed in two arms here, one to the north, the other to the south of it. Mr. Inverarity, the parish minister, reported upon it in 1792, and the Rev. Alexander Wilson

in 1839, the one to the old, and the other to the last Statistical Account. At present the flat of 160 acres is cut here and there, as if drains were to be introduced in some fantastic fashion. If there have as yet been no important finds, there have been some interesting ones, such as broken pottery, rusty nails and hold-fasts, gravelled roads, and two Roman ovens in good preservation, built all round, with the charred wood and soot still visible.

✿ ✿ ✿

Messrs. Sotheby sold on May 9 a copy of the first edition of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1678, of which not more than five copies are known, three being imperfect. The copy in question is unique in the respect that it has the engraved portrait of Bunyan dreaming, by R. White, with the view of the city in the background labelled in error "Vanity" (it should be "Destruction"), which does not occur in any one of the other known copies, and which, in its correct form, has hitherto been regarded as first issued with the third edition. This copy is additionally interesting from the fact that it was given to Jane Fleetwood by her uncle. It then came into possession of Ann Palmer, who was adopted by the sisters of Dr. Fleetwood, Bishop of St. Asaph, and thence into the Nash family, in whose possession it has remained until the present time. It realized the enormous sum of £1,475, the purchaser being Mr. Cockerell, and the under-bidder, Mr. B. F. Stevens, the American book-agent.

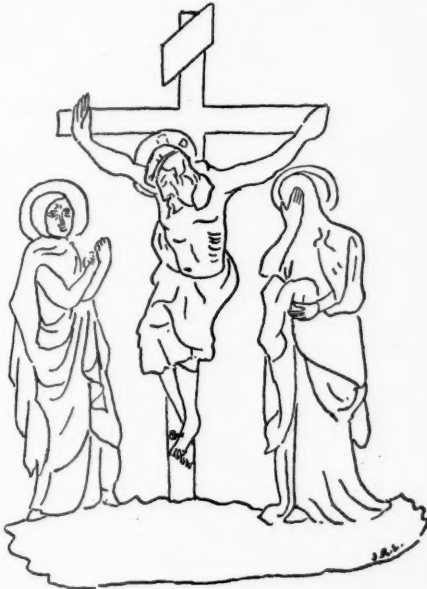
✿ ✿ ✿

When the Chinese soldiers burnt the Hanlin College, Peking, in the hope that it might set fire to the adjoining British Embassy, the only existing copy of the largest book in the world was destroyed. This was the *Yung Lo Ta Tien*, the Great Standard of Yung Lo, the Emperor, who caused it to be compiled in the year 1403, when our own Henry IV. was on the throne. The idea was to collect in a single work all that had ever been written on (a) the Confucian doctrine, (b) history, (c) philosophy, (d) other matters generally. It was put together by an immense staff of 2,141 scholars, working under twenty sub-directors, five directors, and three commissioners. They completed it in five years. The work, consisting of 22,877 sections, was

bound up into 11,100 volumes, each half an inch thick; so that, laid flat on one another, they would form a column 46 feet higher than St. Paul's Cathedral. It was to have been printed, but the expense was found too great for the Imperial Government to undertake. Two copies were taken about 1567. The original and one of the copies perished in 1644, when the Ming dynasty fell. Of the copy which remained in the Hanlin College only five volumes are known to have been saved. They are in the hands of the Cambridge Professor of Chinese, who wrote lately on the subject in the *Nineteenth Century*.



Mr. J. Russell Larkby, who kindly sends the sketch here reproduced, writes: "The original is in the nave of All Saints' Church,



Snodland, Kent, a village situated on the left bank of the tidal Medway. The pier on which the drawing is made is in the south arcade, and is locally known as the 'Calvary Pillar,' which is interesting, as being a probable survival of its original name. This pillar is of fourteenth-century work, and it

is possible that the painting also dates from about 1330. As an example of mediæval art, the group is rather important, and shows to a great extent the subdued and quiet spirit of the mediæval painter. The colour is a deep brown, with portions of the figures incised and filled with black. The nails in the hands are omitted, and from this, and the uninscribed tablet on the summit of the cross, the drawing appears to have been for some reason left unfinished."



The earliest notices of the exportation of coal from this country occur, says the *Law Journal*, in the records of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and in the Royal Proclamations and other State papers relative to that town. The first direct reference to the subject which has been found is contained in the Rolls of Parliament, 1325, 19 Edward II. In 1546 Henry VIII. sent orders to the Mayor of Newcastle to forward 3,000 chaldrons of coal to France, and the trade with that country thereafter increased to such an extent that petitions were made against it. In the Journals of the House of Commons, February, 1563, mention occurs of a Bill to restrain the carriage of Newcastle coals overseas. In July of the same year an Act was passed in Scotland to prevent the exportation of coal, as thereby great dearth of fuel had been occasioned.



The archæological excursion season began unusually early this year. On April 15 a Northamptonshire Society (that for the archdeaconries of Northampton and Oakham) spent a chilly afternoon in visiting Dingley Church and Hall, Brampton Ash Church, Stoke Albany Manor-house and Church, and the churches at Wilbarston and Ashley. The Somersetshire archæologists on May 4 visited Wraxall Church. Mr. E. E. Baker, in the course of remarks on the building, said that there were traces of an Early English church, and the porch and parvise are of that period. The tower was a specimen of the middle of the Perpendicular period, of a very plain and massive type, the beautiful pinnacles built upon the buttresses being worthy of attention. There was a very fine tower arch, with remarkably good mouldings. There

was a sanctus-bell turret, which was not very usual in England. The feature of the greatest interest was perhaps the steps in the eastern wall of the porch, with respect to which different writers had different ideas. Their use was doubtless to accommodate the choir at different functions. On May 18 the members of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society made an excursion to Farnley—where is a fine old hall—Leathley and Stainburn—both with interesting churches—and Almscliff Crag. The spring meeting of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society will be held on June 6, when Winterbourne, Almondsbury, Over Park and its noted tapestries, and Westbury-on-Trym, will be visited, under the presidency of Mr. F. F. Fox.

The governors of Lichfield Grammar School have decided to erect new buildings at Borrowcop Hill. The old school-house was built in 1692, at the joint charges of the Corporation and the feoffees of the Conduit Lands. It was at Lichfield Grammar School that Congreve and Dr. Johnson, who were form-fellows there, had their early education. Addison, Garrick, Wollaston, Bishop Newton, Chief Justices Wilmot and Willes, and Chief Baron Parker were also pupils of the school. Johnson's schoolfellow, Hector, furnished Boswell with some particulars of Johnson's life when a schoolboy at Lichfield, among them the anecdote of the three boys—one of them Hector himself—who used to call in the morning at his home, which still stands in the market-place, and carry him to school.

The restorations which are now being carried out in the Castle of St. Angelo, Rome, are exceedingly interesting, and have resulted in the discovery of some curious frescoes of the fifteenth century. It is even hoped that possibly thick coatings of whitewash still cover the frescoes by Pinturricchio, representing the whole of the Borgia family. That such frescoes existed in the time of Julius II. is proved by a passage in Boehm, who was one of the secretaries to Alexander VI., and who has preserved the names of the persons represented in these pictures; but they have been lost sight of for centuries, in the same manner as were the splendid frescoes by the

same master in the Vatican itself, which Pope Leo XIII. has recently recovered and restored to their pristine condition.

We have taken occasion more than once to refer to the foundation of a British Archaeological School in Rome. The opening ceremony was performed on April 12 by Lord Currie in the temporary premises of the school in the Palazzo Odescalchi, and was attended by representatives, numbering over a hundred, of international archaeology. Now that the school has been officially started, its success depends upon the measure of support which our Government, the Universities, and public-spirited scholars choose to extend towards it.

The sixteenth annual meeting of the Monumental Brass Society was held on April 25, the Rev. R. W. M. Lewis in the chair. This society still pursues its original purpose, viz., the study, cataloguing, and preservation of these interesting memorials of the dead. A series of articles by Mr. Mill Stephenson, on "The Palimpsest Brasses of England," is continued in the *Transactions*. Part XXVII. (price 3s. to non-members), containing the counties of Essex, Gloucester, Hants, and Herts, can be had from Mr. F. W. Short, 51, Mornington Road, Leytonstone, Essex, who will also be glad to supply particulars of membership. Part XXVII. contains more than a score of illustrations of palimpsest brasses.

Mr. Z. Moon, the Chief Librarian of the Leyton Public Libraries, has set a good example to his brethren by issuing for local circulation a list of the books in the libraries under his care relating to the life and work and times of King Alfred. It would be well if librarians generally would thus seek to draw attention to the achievements of the hero-King, and thereby arouse and stimulate interest in the coming millenary celebration. The Leyton list is tolerably full, and we are glad to note that Mr. Moon not only includes works of fiction relating to the King and his era, but also gives a list of references to noteworthy passages in the Chronicles and in the works of the leading historians.

Messrs. Archibald Constable and Co. will publish almost immediately a volume of hitherto unprinted autograph poems by King James I. of England and VI. of Scotland, the existence of which, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, has recently been discovered. The title-page is an exact reproduction of the beautiful title-page specially designed and engraved for the folio edition of the King's works, published under his own supervision in 1616. The text is accompanied by several collotype reproductions of the pages of the book, and, by the permission of Sir Robert Gresley, Bart., the frontispiece is a portrait of King James which has never hitherto been published. The volume will be edited by Mr. Robert S. Rait, and only 250 copies will be for sale.



The death, on May 4, of Mr. Stanley Leighton, M.P., F.S.A., has removed an antiquary of no mean attainments. At his residence, Sweeney Hall, near Oswestry, he had amassed a fine collection of Shropshire books and manuscripts. But he was no mere collector. To the *Transactions* of the Shropshire Archæological Society he contributed a number of papers, including a valuable series on the Records of the Corporation of Oswestry; whilst in the *Montgomeryshire Collections* he published the papers and letters of Major-General Mytton of Halston, a Parliamentary officer. He was also a contributor to the *Transactions* of the Cambrian Archæological Association, and he read a paper on "Changes in Land-ownership in Shropshire" before the Archæological Institute, at their Shrewsbury meeting. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on January 8, 1880, and was for some time local secretary of that society. To Mr. Leighton was entirely due the formation, some four years ago, of the Shropshire Parish Register Society, in which he took the keenest interest throughout. He was an excellent draughtsman, and with his own hand he had drawn beautiful sketches of nearly every old house and building in Shropshire. All the antiquarian world will feel the poorer through the death of Mr. Leighton. His remains were interred at Oswestry on May 9.

Charles Dickens as an Antiquary.

BY A. BERTRAM R. WALLIS.

NO great novelist perhaps was less of an antiquary than Dickens. With his vigorous and practical views of life, and his enthusiasm in the cause of reform, he regarded the past mainly as a worn-out garment, covered with the dust of ignorance and superstition—a butt for his caustic satire. "Dingy," "dusty," "fusty," "inconvenient," "uncomfortable," "rotting," are the adjectives which crop up without much discrimination in his pages in reference to things of earlier days.

But he was an artist, and despite his iconoclastic leanings, he betrays here and there some sympathy with the relics of a by-gone age. Bearing in mind that even in his latter days antiquarian tastes were popularly connected with old fogydom, we must allow that his appreciation of architectural detail shows that he took a more than ordinary interest in that part of the subject at least, as we learn from his correspondence as well as his novels.

In these days of Ladies' Brass-rubbing Societies we can afford to smile at the passage in *Pickwick* where the author tilts with the impetuosity of youth at "the Royal Antiquarian Society and other learned bodies," bodies with which he was evidently unacquainted. His powers of exaggeration are nowhere more prominently displayed than in the account of the ancient inscription supposed to have been discovered at Cobham. It will be remembered that Mr. Pickwick examines a stone on which certain letters are scrawled. He buys the stone for ten shillings, takes it to London, lectures upon it, and presents a faithful delineation of it to "the Royal Antiquarian Society and other learned bodies." The "learned bodies" are apparently not only ignorant, but very quarrelsome, for we read that "heart-burnings and jealousies without number are produced."

And then Dickens's imagination runs riot. Mr. Pickwick writes a pamphlet on the stone containing ninety-six pages of small print, with twenty-seven different readings of the

inscription; three old gentlemen cut their eldest sons off with a shilling a-piece for presuming to doubt the antiquity of the fragment; Mr. Pickwick is elected an honorary member of seventeen native and foreign societies, and "though none of the seventeen can make anything of the inscription all of the seventeen agree that it is very extraordinary." A Mr. Blotton, who finds the man who carved the inscription on the stone, is expelled from the club, and writes a pamphlet to the seventeen societies, whom he characterizes as humbugs. (Polite Mr. Blotton!) And then follows the celebrated scientific discussion so well known to all as "the Pickwick Controversy," after which the seventeen learned societies, unanimously voting Blotton an ignorant meddler, "forthwith set to work upon more treatises than ever."

All this is humorous, but the humour is of the "grinning through a horse-collar" type. The satire fails from a want of proportion. It is true that the recent notorious Shipway case shows how easily an educated man may be bamboozled by forged antiquities, but surely no Antiquarian Society ever displayed the crass ignorance and malice attributed to the imaginary seventeen.

However, no parallel to the above is to be found in Dickens's later works. In *The Old Curiosity Shop* we meet with an elderly gentleman (described in the Dickensian manner as "the Bachelor") whose antiquarian tastes are sympathetically dealt with by the novelist. "Learned antiquaries" are here, curiously enough, somewhat taken to task for their destructive accuracy. The Bachelor was unwilling to demolish any of the "airy shrines raised above the dust of centuries." The legends attached to a coffin, or a secret vault, were dear to him, and he wholly disregarded the contrary contentions of "the aforesaid antiquaries." As the Bachelor had "made the history of the old church his study," it is a little difficult to understand which side of the question the author takes, but it is clear that he shows no hostility to the halo of romance surrounding the relics.

Little Nell also meets with a sexton who makes boxes from scraps of oak clasped at the edges with fragments of brass plates, "that had writing on 'em once, though it would be hard to read now." One cannot

avoid a suspicion that these boxes would partly account for the disappearance of monumental brasses from the church, even though "gentlefolks fond of ancient days" encouraged the sexton in his pursuits. Haply these gentlefolks were of the class whose initials are to be found inscribed upon sepulchral monuments. Let us hope, however that this box-making sexton, with whom Dickens was probably acquainted, used merely old coffin-plates for his work.

The iconoclastic Professor Dingo (in *Bleak House*), who "knew of no building save the Temple of Science," and, in consequence, disfigured some of the buildings in North Devon by chipping off fragments with his little geological hammer, is himself a relic of a barbarous age.

When Dickens wanders in the paths of ecclesiology, without showing any profound knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture, he describes the details of his buildings with fair accuracy. His leanings are evidently towards the Gothic style. London churches are to him an abomination. Without exception they are condemned as gloomy, musty, damp and mouldy. The censure was not altogether undeserved. City churches even at the present day are not the most cheerful of places, and we know what they were in the earlier part of last century. The author describes exactly what he saw, and his temperament was such that his surroundings profoundly impressed his spirits. Here are some of his impressions of City churches from *Dombey and Son*: "A mouldy old church . . . itself buried in a kind of vault. It was a great, dim, shabby pile, with high oaken pews, among which a score of people lost themselves every Sunday. The organ rumbled and rolled, for want of a congregation to keep the damp out." There was also a "disappointed" bell high in the tower, and "a shabby man behind a screen in the porch, ringing with a stirrup." The vestry was old, brown-panelled and dusty, the registers wormy, diffusing a smell like faded snuff. The pew-opener was dusty, and so were the sounding-boards over the pulpit and reading-desk, while dusty wooden ledges and corners poked in and out over the altar, over the screen, and round the galleries. The registers are further described as sneezy.

Probably the ledges and corners were of good seventeenth-century woodwork, but the gloom and dust have so depressed the author that he cannot take any interest in the carving. On the whole this is a fair description of a typical city church, and one that might, apart from the high oaken pews, which have probably been removed, apply fairly well at the present time.

In a similar building was Paul Dombey christened. It is described as "chill and earthy." The pulpit was "tall and shrouded." There was a dreary perspective of empty pews stretching away under the galleries. *Grisly* free seats were in the aisles, and the sexton's implements were to be seen in a damp corner. "The strange, unusual, uncomfortable smell, and the cadaverous light were all in unison; it was a cold and dismal scene."

It is difficult to struggle against so many gloomy adjectives. We feel with Dickens the depression of the place. This depression was, perhaps, purposely accentuated by the author as reflecting the character of Mr. Dombey, and as foreboding the early death of the christened babe. A hopeless spirit of annihilation pervades everything; in the register he sees "an immense book gorged with the burials."

But Dickens felt the rugged beauty of mediæval architecture, though in a description in *Bleak House* of a village church some traces of that depression with which age seemed to affect him appear. "It was a shady, ancient, solemn little church, and smelt as earthy as a grave. The windows, shaded by trees, admitted subdued light that darkened the old brasses in the pavement, and the time and damp-worn monuments, and rendered the sunshine in the little porch bright." We recognise in this portrait a common type of village church, dating from the twelfth or thirteenth century.

In *The Old Curiosity Shop* we have another such portrait, and again the author dwells rather on the neglect and decay of the building than on its architectural features. "Everything told of long use and quiet, slow decay; the very bell-rope in the porch was frayed into a fringe, and hoary with old age." The books were worm-eaten, and from the pew sides "baize of whitened green was

mouldering, leaving the naked wood bare." These were the high pews which at the time when this description was written were still extant in most country churches.

And in the last story of all, *Edwin Drood*, the action of which circles round the Cathedral of "Cloisterham," there is no ray of sunshine in the vivid pictures of the Cathedral, the Close, and the surrounding buildings; all is dust and decay, so that we almost wonder whether the tragedy of the tale, rather than impressing itself on the "ancient English Cathedral," was not suggested by it.

In *The Old Curiosity Shop*, however, there is a more sympathetic description of an abbey church and monastic ruins which, no doubt, Dickens had visited at some period. The scene of these ruins is on the border of North Wales, for from the spot the Welsh mountains were visible, and the city through which Nell and her grandfather had passed shortly before reaching the abbey church must, from its description, surely be Chester. "In the streets were a number of old houses, built of a kind of earth or plaster, crossed and re-crossed in a great many directions with black beams . . . the doors were arched and low, some with oaken portals and quaint benches," and so on.

"The church," we read, "had been built many hundreds of years ago, and had once had a convent or monastery attached, for arches in ruins, remains of oriel windows, fragments of blackened walls were yet standing, while other portions of the old building had crumbled away." The term "oriel" windows is probably used loosely as signifying windows having tracery; examples of oriel windows in monastic ruins must be rare, owing to their comparatively late introduction.

The two travellers found a haven of rest in an odd dwelling, which was formed out of part of the ruins of the conventual buildings. The description of this piece of antiquity is excellent. "The room which they entered was a vaulted chamber, once nobly ornamented by cunning architects, and still retaining in its beautiful groined roof and rich stone tracery choice remnants of its ancient splendour. Foliage carved in stone, and emulating mastery of Nature's hand, yet remained to tell how many times the leaves

outside had come and gone, while it lived on unchanged." Architecture of the early English period is evidently intended, though this hardly fits in with the chimney-piece, which was supported by "broken figures, which, though mutilated, were still distinguishable for what they had been." At a later period (though "even change was old in that place") a "rude window, or rather niche, had been cut in the solid wall, which admitted light." "Niche" is inaccurate, and the old chest that "had once held the records of the church" is much more likely to have held the vestments. But, if somewhat superficially acquainted with the subject, Dickens was alive to the spirit of the place.

In describing the baronial chapel in a part of the abbey church he refers to cross-legged effigies, and adopts the popular legend that these were monuments of those who fought in the holy wars. The controversy on this point is of recent growth.

In *Nicholas Nickleby* we get a legendary account of the origin of the window in the north transept of York Minster, sometimes called the Five Sisters. "Dusty antiquaries," we are informed, "relate the fable"—in which the author's prejudice against monastic life is apparent, and he persists in describing a black Benedictine monk, who converses very crustily with the five sisters, as "the friar." A fancied resemblance of the compartments of the window to embroidery was presumably the origin of the legend, and Dickens shows but little appreciation of the remarkable glass in describing it as "fine large compartments of sickly stained glass." He might have reversed this verdict at a later period of his life, but he was thoroughly independent in his judgments. In an amusing letter written from Venice he says: "In the very same hour and minute there were scores of people falling into conventional raptures with that very poor Apollo, and passing over the most beautiful little figures and heads in the whole Vatican because they were not expressly set up to be worshipped. So in this place. . . . Your guide-book writer, representing the general swarming of humbugs, rather patronizes Tintoretto as a man of some sort of merit; and (bound to follow Eustace, Forsyth, and all the rest of them) directs you, on pain of being broke for

want of gentility in appreciation, to go into ecstasies with things that have neither imagination, nature, proportion, possibility, nor anything else in them. You immediately obey, and tell your son to obey. He tells his son, and he tells his, and so the world gets at three-fourths of its frauds and miseries."

Let us pass to his domestic architecture. Here Dickens is more in his element. It is needless to make more than a passing reference to his striking pictures of old London. The Inns of Court, the prisons, the coaching hostleries, the old burying-grounds, the markets, the mazes of relict streets lying away from the main thoroughfares, are spread before us in panorama through the works from *Pickwick* to *Edwin Drood*. But that he had no love for antiquities where the antique was in his opinion opposed to utility is apparent. Poor Barnard's Inn, for instance, is thus described in *Great Expectations*: "A melancholy little square that looked like a flat burying-ground," wherein were found "the most dismal trees and dismal sparrows that I had ever seen," "windows in a state of dusty decay, miserable makeshifts," "a frouzy mourning of soot and smoke attired this forlorn creation of Barnard." The melancholy little square is now practically extinct, and is, singularly enough, regretted by many who loved it as a quiet retreat from the din of the Holborn traffic.

Again, in his last book, Staple Inn meets with like scant courtesy. A corner house in the little inner quadrangle of the inn presented in black and white over its ugly portal the mysterious inscription "P. J. T. 1747," which inscription Dickens uses as a vehicle for much legitimate fun. (Probably he was well aware that T. stands for "Treasurer.") There was an ugly garret window, which had a penthouse to itself thrust out among the tiles. But, "in these days no neighbouring architecture of lofty proportions had arisen to overshadow Staple Inn." Let us be thankful that we live in the days of the Birkbeck Bank and the Prudential Assurance Company.

One more instance: "That leaden-headed old obstruction, appropriate ornament for the threshold of a leaden-headed old corporation," is none other than that historical monument Temple Bar.

In Chesney Wold, "Sir Leicester Dedlock's place in Leicestershire," we have a picture of a country mansion, which we may reconstruct from the fragments scattered through the pages of *Bleak House*. It is a little difficult to place. It has a portico, and a terrace garden with stone balustrades and parapets, and wide flights of shallow steps. There are long lines of dark windows, diversified by turreted towers, and porches of eccentric shapes, where old stone lions and grotesque monsters bristled outside dens of shadow, and snarled over escutcheons they held in their grip. Eighteenth century apparently, though a portion of the description would suggest an earlier date. But shortly afterwards we read: "A path wound under a gateway and through a courtyard where the principal entrance was," and Esther's account of the place is, "A picturesque old house with gable, and chimney, tower turret, dark doorway, and broad terrace walk." This sounds Elizabethan or earlier; it might, in fact, have been written of Compton Wynyates in Warwickshire, dating from Henry VII., and does not suit the "portico and long lines of dark windows, diversified by turreted towers." Looking from the interior, we find that one of the rooms has an arched window, commanding a smooth quadrangle, adorned at regular intervals with smooth round trees and smooth blocks of stone, while Mr. Tulkinghorn is relegated to "a turret chamber of the third order of merit," with a complaining flagstaff over his head. There are panelled rooms, and a fine staircase with carved and gilded balustrade, probably belonging to the seventeenth century.

Altogether it is a composite piece of work, which may be set down as Elizabethan in the main, and it is possible that by "portico" is intended a columniated frontage. As in the London churches and the abbey ruins, Dickens found little but dreariness in the contemplation of Chesney Wold—it may be owing to the impending fate of the owners.

Bleak House itself is impressed with Mr. Jarndyce's own cheery benevolence. Esther's account of it, if not scientific, is graphic and accurate. It is an old-fashioned place, with three peaks to the roof in front, and a circular sweep leading to the porch—delight-

fully irregular—where you go up and down steps from one room to another, where you come upon more rooms when you think you have seen all there are, where there is bountiful provision of little halls and passages—where you find still older cottage rooms in unexpected places, and so forth. This is a type of many charming houses that, originally mere cottages, have been developed by additions at various dates into country houses of the humbler sort. Mr. Boythorne's house is just such another. It was formerly a parsonage. There are settles in the chimney of the brick-floored kitchen, and great beams across the ceiling.

But the most delightful house of all is that of Mr. Wickfield in Canterbury. Dickens knows every nook and corner of it. Listen! "A very old house bulging out into the road, a house with long low lattice windows bulging out still further, and beams with carved heads on the ends, bulging out too, so that I fancied the whole house was leaning forward trying to see who was passing on the narrow pavement below. There was an old-fashioned brass knocker on the low arched door, ornamented with carved garlands of fruit and flowers . . . there were angles and corners, and carvings and mouldings, and quaint little panes of glass, and quainter little windows." A little round tower formed one side of the house. The drawing-room was lighted by three or four quaint old windows, which had oak seats in them, and had a shining oak floor, and great beams in the ceiling, while David's apartment was "a glorious old room, with more oak beams, and more diamond panes, and broad balustrades going all the way up to it." Artist and archæologist combined could hardly give a more faithful picture of a street house dating from the Tudor period.

Canterbury altogether had a softening influence on Dickens's iconoclastic spirit. He speaks delightfully, through the medium of *David Copperfield*, of the still nooks where the ivied growth of centuries crept over gabled ends and ruined walls and the ancient houses. "On everything the same thoughtful, softening spirit." This, indeed, is the true spirit of Canterbury.

The Château of M. le Marquis, of which we read in *The Tale of Two Cities*, is somewhat

like one's first idea of Chesney Wold. And here, as in other instances, the author seems to weave into the building the character and doom of the owner. The Château is dated as finished about two centuries before the great French Revolution, and the description tallies accurately with this period.

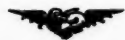
One more example—Satis House, the abode of the eccentric Miss Havisham—appears to be of the Queen Anne period, or perhaps a little later. It is of "old brick, and dismal," and "had a great many iron bars to it." Then there is a curious passage, which "seemed to pervade the whole square basement." This passage is ambiguous; it is difficult to gather from the book whether it was exposed on one side to an interior quadrangle, or was entirely inside the house; it seems, however, to have led Pip astray on more than one occasion. The house is attached to a brewery, yet it is called the Manor House. It is possible, no doubt, that a manor-house should become a brewery, but the brewery buildings seem here of the same date as the house.

There are but few descriptions of interiors of much antiquarian interest. In addition to those already referred to, we have Mr. Tullingham's rooms in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which may well have been chambers in Lindsay House. They were in a large house, "formerly a house of state," with roomy staircases. Dickens treats the painted ceiling with characteristic humour: "An allegory in Roman helmet and celestial linen—flowers, clouds, big-legged boys." The furniture consists of "heavy, broad-backed old-fashioned mahogany and horse-hair chairs, not easily lifted"—evidently comparatively modern stuff—and "obsolete tables, with spindle legs and dusty baize covers." These obsolete tables were probably Sheraton, and with the "old-fashioned silver candlesticks" would nowadays be picked out as prizes by the art furniture dealer.

Dickens was evidently no lover of the art of renaissance, and it is interesting to find another amusing reference to a debased composition of this period, which is curiously like a passage in *Pendennis*. In Esther's room was a picture of "four angels of Queen Anne's reign, taking a complacent gentleman to heaven in festoons with some diffi-

culty." So Thackeray: "A very fat lady, the Dame Rebecca Clavering, in *alto rilievo* is borne up to heaven by two little blue-veined angels, who seem to have a severe task." The humourist and the satirist are here at one accord.

In recalling these passages we realize that Dickens belonged to another age than this. His antiquary was the antiquary of Rowlandson's caricature, an elderly monomaniac, living in a cobwebby world of his own, engrossed in the past, opposed to progress, and slatternly in person. We cannot imagine a Kate Nickleby or an Ada Clare taking the slightest interest in dusty, dusty, musty antiquities, and the notion of young ladies engrossed in the study of ancient architecture would no doubt have been exceedingly humorous to Dickens. But the influence of Morris and his school has done much to popularize the study of ancient arts; and if this popular taste has a good deal of what is superficial about it, and occasionally degenerates into the Abbey Ruins Picnic Party, or sham "æstheticism," there is a background of serious and zealous study, while the lists of members of our Antiquarian Societies, which include a considerable proportion of young ladies, dispose of the tradition that old age and snuff are essential accompaniments of antiquarianism. The novels of the present day reflect this popular taste, and had Dickens flourished thirty or forty years later he might have shown more sympathy with ancient relics. As it is we can appreciate the charm of his fancy in the pictures of cathedral, church, and mansion, into which he has so skilfully woven the individualities of his characters.



The Battlefield of Ethandune.

By THE REV. CHARLES W. WHISTLER, M.R.C.S.



N A.D. 878 Alfred the Great fought and won the Battle of Ethandune against the Danes under Guthrum, titular King of East Anglia and Mercia.

The immediate result of the victory was the complete and permanent freeing of

Wessex from the Danes; the limiting of their occupation of lands already conquered by a line which they agreed not to pass, and practically did not afterwards pass; and the full recognition by them of the overlordship of the English King. This amounted to the sudden and decisive failure of an almost accomplished Danish possession of England, and at the same time set the line of Ecgberht firmly on the paramount throne for the next century at least. Incidentally also it led to the conversion to Christianity of the heathen invaders.

Ethandune may therefore rank as one of our decisive battles, though it has never had the attention paid to it which it deserves. This may be because the whole structure of the Anglo-Danish polity, commenced at the "Frith of Wedmore" after the battle, and consolidated by Cnut and Edward the Confessor, was swept away at the Norman Conquest, from which time our more definite history commences; but there can be little doubt that the apparent difficulty of reconciling the statements of the chroniclers with the site usually received as that of the battle will account for the confused, and often contradictory, statements made by our historians concerning it in the few hasty words with which the victory is as a rule passed over. No explanation is ever forthcoming as to why one victory had so far-reaching effects.

The actual site of the battlefield should in some measure give us the explanation, but, unfortunately, the chroniclers have not told us where Ethandune was situated in Wessex, probably because it seemed to them unnecessary altogether. It was well known to them and their first readers, but for us it is a matter of conjecture, helped by the details they have left us. The present paper is an attempt to examine the usual conjectures as to the site, and to suggest a place which will fill most, if not all, the conditions required by the accounts of the chroniclers.

As to the details which we have concerning the battle, they are more than is usually supposed. The deficiency of one writer is supplemented by the statements of another, and notably so by the preservation by later monkish writers of details from tradition or older records long lost to us, so that it is possible to recover, by collation, a very fair

account of the battle itself and the events which led up to it.

Perhaps it will be as well to set these various accounts in some sort of "catena" for reference, at the outset, giving the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in full as the most reliable basis, and adding details from other sources in brackets, with the name of the writer.

It may be premised that Wessex had been in peace since the Danes had been driven back to Mercia after nine pitched battles "in the kingdom south of the Thames" in 871. The invasion recommenced on the arrival of fresh hosts from Denmark in 876, both by land and sea, a junction being effected between these two forces at Wareham, where Alfred met them and defeated them by sea and on shore. From Wareham, in defiance of the treaty made, the Danes had in 877 gone to Exeter, and, after a siege, had again made peace and retired to Gloucester, apparently by sea, one of their most noted leaders, Hubba, turning his forces loose on Wales on the way, and wintering there.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, anno 878: Here, during mid-winter, after twelfth night, the army stole away to Chippenham, and overran the land of the West Saxons and sat down there

[with a wonderful multitude of men who had lately come from Denmark.—*Asser.*]

And many of the people they drove beyond sea, and of the remainder, the greater part they subdued, and forced to obey them, except King Alfred, and he with a small band with difficulty retreated to the woods and to the fastnesses of the moors

[among the woodlands of the county of Somerset, in great tribulation, for he had none of the necessities of life, except what he could forage openly or by stealth, by frequent sallies, from the pagans, or even from the Christians who had submitted to the rule of the pagans.—*Asser.*]

In the same winter the brother of Inwaer and Halfdene (*i.e.*, Hubba) came with twenty-three ships to Devonshire in Wessex,

[from Demetia where he wintered,—*Asser.*]

[and besieged Odda, Duke of Devon, in a certain castle,—*Ethelwerd.*]

[called Cynuit, Cynwith, Kenwith, Cymwich.—*Various authors.*]

[Into which many of the king's servants had fled for safety with their followers. . . . But the result did not fall out as they expected, for the Christians, before they began to suffer from want, judging it much better to gain victory or death, attacked the pagans suddenly in the morning, and from the first cut them down in great numbers, slaying also their king, so that few escaped to their ships.—*Asser.*]

And he (Hubba) was there slain, and with him 840 men of his army, and there was taken the war-flag which they call the Raven.

[The greater part, escaping by flight, betook themselves to Gytro, king of the pagans.—*Matt. West.*]

[King Alfred then, comforted by this success.—*Hen. Huntingd.*]

After this, at Easter, King Alfred with a small band constructed a fortress at Athelney; and from this fortress, with that part of the men of Somerset which was nearest to it,

[nor were there any others who assisted him, except the servants who made use of the royal pastures,—*Ethelwerd.*]

from time to time they fought against the army

[fought daily battles against the barbarians.—*Ethelwerd.*]

unceasingly.—*S. Dunelm.*]

[His men being on every side recovered, he occupied the hill-towns, and fortified the places which were difficult to pass, and closed the way to the enemy. . . . Guthrum summoned from all parts the men who had settled in various places in England, and had occupied towns in the hills, ordering them to quit these and join the army. He saw there was danger in delay, as the king's army increased in strength every day. Wherefore he likewise drew together a large force, and, prodigal of the lives of his men, anxiously looked forward to the time of conflict.—*John Wallingford.*]

Then, in the seventh week after Easter, Alfred rode to Ecgbyrht's stane, on the East of Selwood, and there came to meet him all the men of Somerset, and the men of Wiltshire, and that portion of the men of Hampshire which was on this side of the sea, and they were joyful at his presence

[as if they received him back again from the dead.—*H. Hunt.*]

[Countless multitudes flocked to him in the course of that day.—*Vit. S. Neot.*]

And on the following day he went from that station to Iglea (Aecglea, Ecglea, Acglea)

[a spacious plain, on the skirts of a wood of willows, covered by marshes in front.—*Vit. S. Neot.*]

And on the day after this to Ethandun (Ethandune, Edendune, Ethendune, Edderandun), and there fought against the whole army and put them to flight.

[that was in Chippenham, at a place called Ethandune.—*Ethelwerd.*]

[With an immense army to Edderandun, near which he found the immense forces of the pagans prepared for war.—*S. Dunelm.*]

[Learning the position of the barbarians exactly from scouts whom he had sent out for the purpose, he suddenly attacked them.—*Malmsbury.*]

[He previously took a mount, fit enough for the enemy if they had been on their guard.—*Wallingford.*]

[Forming in line of battle, they (*i.e.*, Alfred's men) previously took the nearest promontory, whence they watched the movements of the enemy.—*Vit. S. Neot.*]

[When he (Guthrum) found the formerly vanquished opposed to him, he cheered his men to the battle with frequent exhortations, and straightway they disposed their line after their own manner, advancing to the place of contest.—*Vit. S. Neot.*]

[The two nations fought during a long period of the day, and their voices and the clash of arms were heard throughout long tracts of country.—*S. Dunelm.*]

And Alfred put them to flight, and pursued them as far as their fortress,

[a castle which was in the neighbourhood.—*M. West.*]

[even to the first gate which they had shut.—*Vit. S. Neot.*]

[And all that he found outside the fort, men and cattle and horses, he cut off, killing the men forthwith.—*Asser.*]

And there he sat fourteen days,

[when the pagans, driven by famine, cold, fear, and last of all by despair, asked for peace, on the condition that they should give him as many hostages as he pleased, but should receive none from him in return; in which form they had never before made a treaty with anyone.—*Asser.*]

And then the army delivered to him hostages with many oaths that they would leave his kingdom, and also promised that their king should receive baptism. And that they accordingly fulfilled. And about three weeks after this King Guthrum came to him with some thirty men who were of the most distinguished in his army, at Aulre, which is near Athelney, and the King was godfather at baptism, and his chrism-loosing was at Wedmore, and he was twelve days with the king, and he greatly honoured him and his companions with gifts.

Anno 879: Here the army went to Cirencester from Chippenham, and sat there one year.

Anno 880: Here the army went from Cirencester to East Anglia, and settled in the land and apportioned it.

Asser adds, during the Athelney period, the episode of the burnt cakes, and Matthew of Westminster a visit to St. Neot thence. Malmsbury tells the vision of St. Cuthberht, which at least gives us the fact that the winter was unusually severe; while the visit to Neot shows that to the westward the way was open, the saint being in Cornwall. Ingulf and Malmsbury are responsible for the story of the visit to the Danish camp as a minstrel, and this in a measure corroborates the statement that Alfred sent out scouts to spy the Danish position.

Asser adds a long description of the castle before which Hubba was slain, from his own observation, but space will hardly allow of quoting it, though it is important in a way.

It will not be necessary to recapitulate with

this "catena" before us, but a few notes may be added.

A midwinter march was up to that date unheard of, and its accomplishment fully explains the helpless flight of the king and his failure to gather levies, as at other times, at once against the enemy. The newly arrived Danes must be those dealt with at Exeter in the preceding year, and their march therefore would be from Gloucester. There is no notice of fresh arrivals since the fleet brought these to Wareham.

The actual fugitive state of the king lasted until Easter, which fell in 878 on March 23. This is Dr. Clifford's calculation, and I must acknowledge at once my full obligation to his paper on the same subject for the Somerset Archæological Society, written in 1875, when he was Bishop of Clifton.

Shortly before this date, Alfred had already a western force under Odda, the Devon Earl, in the field, or at all events ready to be called up. It was strong enough to defeat Hubba, though not to hold the field after the victory, as the Danes buried their fallen leader. Probably, as Dr. Clifford suggests, the force besieging the fort was temporarily weakened by the departure of raiding-parties, and they returned to find the Saxons gone.

After this victory, the open building of the Athelney fort commenced, and from that time forward there could be no doubt where Alfred was. This fort yet remains as the most conspicuous object in the expanse of fen round the junction of the Tone and Parrett rivers, at which point it stands. It is now known as "Borough Mump" and the black piles of the bridge which connect it with the ancient causeway to the isle of Athelney itself yet remain.

Alfred's plans matured as Guthrum called in his forces on this evidence of Saxon activity. He seems quietly to have occupied the hill-towns as the Danes left them, and also arranged for the guarding of the passes by which the enemy might retreat into Mercia, their natural base. So soon as Guthrum had massed his men, Alfred was on him with a swift gathering of his levies and a rapid and entirely unopposed march to Ethandune. We have no notice of the relative size of the forces, both being spoken of as "immense." There is no reason, there-

fore, to take them otherwise than as fairly equal.

Plainly, Guthrum was expecting an action on the morning of the battle, as his men were armed and apparently on the move. The surprise is that of an army on the march, not that of a fortress. But the enemy was not expected from the actual direction whence the attack came, for Alfred was able to take, unopposed, a hill which should have been guarded, while Guthrum had to rally and form up his men on the plain before he could attack Alfred, who waited for him.

It must be evident from this that Alfred's movements had been timed to correspond with some Danish action which he had learnt through his scouts, or, I may suggest, even by that much doubted personal visit to the camp of the enemy. His calculations were correct, for he was able to choose his own ground for the battle, while the attention of the enemy was engaged elsewhere. Whatever their intention may have been, they had left their camp, and were between Ethandune and the fortress, which they had presumably held. This fortress is not named, but it was walled and gated, and must have been of some size and strength to stand a fortnight's siege after the live-stock had been lost, though it was not large enough to fully shelter the host pent in it. For some reason, which the site should fairly explain, a sortie, such as the Danes made successfully at Wareham and the Saxons at Cynuit, was hopeless, as the despair of the besieged is insisted on.

Wallingford's statement that on concentration Guthrum had sent for help to already settled Danes may explain the absence of attempt to rescue the besieged by the Mercian Danes, but it seems to have been the rule for the older, already settled, hosts to leave newcomers to fight their own battles. After the conclusion of the treaty the Danes retired from the fortress near Ethandune to their original base at Chippenham, leaving there next year for Mercia, as agreed. A similar delay in evacuation took place in 871, and again after the pacts at Wareham and Exeter. Unless this was allowed for the sake of the helpless wounded, the reason is not evident, specially in the case of so hopelessly beaten a force as this of Ethandune.

Alfred's march requires a note to itself. After arranging the rendezvous, he rode to it from Athelney and met his men. On the next day he went to Iglea and camped. On the following day, early, he fell on the Danes at Ethandune, gathering and marches alike being unhindered. The distances and times of the two marches remain to be deduced from the position of the field itself, being nowhere given.

The gathering place of Ecgbryht's stane is unanimously agreed to be at, or close to, Brixton Deveril, the position with regard to Selwood Forest fixing it. Athelney, Aller and Wedmore are also certain positions.

The doubtful sites of the campaign are Cynuit, Iglea, and Ethandune. With regard to the first named, its site is worth a discussion to itself, but for the purposes of this paper it is enough to say that, being in Devon, whether this term as used in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle means the modern county, or most probably the province west of the line of the Parrett, it was in the rear of Athelney as regards the other Danish position. It seems therefore that the landing of Hubba was in co-operation with Guthrum, his force being possibly that mentioned by Wallingford as that sent for on the concentration. The remainder of it joined the Ethandune Danes after the defeat, and Alfred's way to the West was therefore open, while behind the Athelney fens he had a victorious force at his command. This Devon force was not at the Brixton gathering, but it should not be forgotten.

Iglea, with its varying spelling, is a very doubtful locality, and its location depends on that of Ethandune. It must lie somewhere between there and Brixton, but it is possible that it is a mere field-name, long lost, as the description of it in the *Vita S. Neot* seems to hint. The names of several places seem to answer well enough for it, so that we gain little thence.

There are no less than five places in Wessex, west of a line drawn roughly from Salisbury to Oxford, whose names will equally answer for Ethandune, and here again we have no help from name. These are, Edington near Westbury, Heddington near Calne, and Eaton Down near Castlecombe, all in Wilts, and not far distant from

each other, in the Chippenham district; Edington on Poldens, near Bridgwater and Athelney, in Somerset, and Edington near Hungerford, on the borders of Wilts and Berks, in the direction of Oxford.

It is not surprising that each of these places has had its advocates as the site of the great victory, but what is most curious is that in so comparatively small a radius we have so many places of the same name or nearly, and that in each case there seems to be a more or less definite tradition attached to the hill there of a victory won by Alfred over the Danes. It suggests at once that the name is actually connected with the struggle with the invaders. Obviously but one can be correct as the site of the final victory, but what of the other four?

Unfortunately, it is becoming increasingly difficult to know in cases of this sort whether a tradition is genuine, or the result of persistently repeated theory on events supposed to be connected with the place. But granted that these "Ethandunes" have each ancient traditions of a victory gained by Alfred, it will be surely safe to say that at each he did vanquish the heathen. The fields of none of the nine battles fought by him in 871 are mentioned by the chroniclers, but four of them are probably commemorated by the name of the "Heðen-dun," the hill of the heathen. We keep the *ð* sound, now represented by *th*, in Wessex generally, and Matthew of Westminster has preserved us the spelling "Ethendune." A glance at a map will show that these hill positions lie in the line of retreat from mid-Wessex to the Thames at Oxford which the Danes may have followed as Alfred drove them back. It would be more than interesting to hear if other traditions of victory remain elsewhere on this line, say between Bath and Hungerford or Oxford itself. It may be added that the present dialectic pronunciation of Edington is practically indistinguishable from "Edendon."

In seeking among these five Ethandunes that which may have most claim to be the field of battle in 878, we have, from the chronicles, some conditions which the site must fulfil without much difficulty, and it seems to me that we have detail enough to make the place pretty certain. At least,

there are enough data to show the wrong, if some points must remain doubtful.

1. The hill position must render frequent, if not daily, attacks on the Danes possible from Athelney.

2. Must not be beyond possible marches of a day and a half from Brixton.

3. Must account for the continued occupation of Athelney,

4. And for the massing of the Danes at that special point.

5. Should have a sufficient fortress or trace of ancient fortress in the vicinity.

To these we may add that the true site should explain—

6. The rear attack and surprise.

7. The choice of Aller and Wedmore as the final scenes of the surrender.

8. What passes could be blocked against Danish retreat.

9. What hope of retreat remained for Alfred if defeated.

This last question is one which so careful a leader could hardly have overlooked, even if one were to consider Ethandune in the light of a forlorn hope, which after the defeat of Hubba it by no means seems to be. This may seem a long list, but if the right place is found there should be little difficulty in answering the requirements. One question works in with another.

It will perhaps save trouble to take the less probable site first.

(To be concluded.)



Pagan Myths and Christian Figures.

By W. HENRY JEWITT.

II. THE MOON AND THE MAY-GODDESS.

(Concluded from p. 151.)



THESE, of course, are literary imitations or adaptations, but in modern Roman devotions the "reflection" theory, as held by the ancients, continually occurs, all the attributes and graces of our Lord being applied to His

Mother. I have seen a French religious engraving of a "Good Shepherdess" (*La Divine Bergère*), a complete imitation—shall we say parody?—of pictures of the Good Shepherd.



MURILLO'S ASSUMPTION.

"A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet."—Rev. xii. 1.

St. Mary, like her Divine Son, is bearing a lamb upon her arm and a crook in her right hand, and is opening the door of a sheepfold.

But they go further, and apply to her stories undoubtedly told of Venus. Thus, in the *Glories of Mary* (written by St. Alphonsus Liguori, now a Doctor of the Roman Church, and translated and published under the imprimatur of Cardinal Wiseman) is the following tale, though it is but fair to say that it is only quoted therein:

"A clerical student was playing at ball with other young men, and, fearing that he might while playing lose a ring which had been given him by a lady, went and placed it on the finger of a statue of Mary which was there. He then felt himself inspired to promise the Blessed Virgin that he would renounce the world and choose her for his

spouse. He made the promise, and Mary pressed his finger as a sign that she accepted it. After some time he wished to marry another woman. Mary appeared to him and reproached him with his infidelity. He therefore fled into a desert, where he persevered to the end in a holy life."

Now, this is only a Christianized version of a story told by William of Malmesbury (and which has been so beautifully turned into verse by Mr. W. Morris*) of a bridegroom who, on his wedding-day, playing ball with some of his companions, put his ring on the finger of a statue of Venus, which was in the garden. But when, tired of playing, he went "to resume the ring, he saw the finger clenched tight in the palm. Finding after many attempts that he was unable either to force it off or to break the



FROM AN ENGRAVING BY MARTIN SCHONGAUR.

fingers, he retired in silence, concealing the matter from his companions, lest they should laugh at him at the moment or deprive him of the ring when he was gone. Returning

* *Earthly Paradise.*

thither with some servants in the dead of night, he was surprised to find the finger again extended and the ring taken away. . . . When the hour of rest arrived, and he had placed himself by the side of his spouse, he was conscious of something dense and cloud-like rolling between them, which might be felt, though not seen, and by this means impeded his embraces. He heard a voice, too, saying: 'Embrace me, since you wedded me to-day. I am *Venus*, on whose finger you put the ring. I have it, nor will I restore it.'

"Terrified at such a prodigy, he passed a sleepless night. A considerable space of time elapsed in this way. As often as he desired the embraces of his wife the same thing occurred, until at length, unlike the votary of Mary, the unfortunate man had recourse to exorcism, regained the ring, and was freed from the presence of the goddess."

Again, in a hymn of welcome to May, the month of Mary as it is now, we get the old floral celebrations, May-dew† and all:

The joyous birds are singing
To welcome in the day,
The fairest buds are springing
To hail the gladsome May.

* A Corsican version of the story tells us of a girl "betrayed by her lover to wed a richer bride, who returns thrice, and lies down between man and wife; twice she vanishes at cockcrow, the third time she clasps her betrayer in her chilly arms, saying, 'Thou art mine. O beloved! mine thou wilt be for ever; we part no more.' While she speaks he breathes his last breath" (*Essays in the Study of Folk-Song*, by the Countess Martenengo-Ceasaresco).

† May-dew—dew gathered before sunrise on the morning of the first of May, with which to wash the face, originally as a protection against fairies, the representatives of the powers of darkness, who are still striving to avert their overthrow, but more recently because it was thought to improve the complexion.

The fair maid who the first of May
Goes to the fields at break of day,
And washes in dew from the hawthorn-tree,
Will ever after handsome be.

"My wife away down with Jane and W. Hewer to Woolwich in order to a little ayre, and to lie there to-night, and so to gather May-dew to-morrow morning, which Mrs. Turner hath taught her is the only thing in the world to wash her face with, and I am contented with it" (*Pepys' Diary*, 1667). And

VOL. XXXVII.

While yet the morn is new,
Come, maidens, to the bow'rs
Before the falling dew
Has died upon the flow'rs.

Quick, call the early roses
In all their glowing bloom,
The jasmine which discloses
Its fragrant, rich perfume;
With all the buds of spring
Your blushing garlands twine,
And haste your wreaths to bring
To deck Our Lady's shrine.

And in the *Sacristy* for May, 1871:

The happy birds *Te Deums* sing,
'Tis Mary's month of May;
Her smile turns Winter into Spring,
And darkness into day;
And there's a fragrance in the air,
The bells their music make,
And, oh! the world is bright and fair,
And all for Mary's sake.

Yes! Mary's month has come again,
The merry month of May,
And sufferers forget their pain,
And sorrows flee away;
And joys return, the hearts whose moan
Was desolate erewhile,
Are blithe and gay, once more they own
The charm of Mary's smile.

"All hail!"—an Angel spake the words
We lovingly repeat,
The song-notes of the singing birds
They are not half so sweet;
This is a music that endures,
It cannot pass away,
For Mary's children it insures
A never-ending May.

And still again the following, which is, I believe, from the pen of Cardinal Newman:

Green are the leaves, and sweet the flowers,
And rich the hues of May:
We see them in the gardens round,
And market panniers gay;

again in 1699: "My wife up by four o'clock to go to gather May-dew." In the *Morning Post*, May 2, 1791, we are told that the day before, "being the first of May, according to annual and superstitious custom, a number of people went into the fields and bathed their faces with the dew on the grass, under the idea that it would render them beautiful." So, again, Hone's *Every-Day Book*: "At Edinburgh about four o'clock in the morning there is an unusual stir, and a hurrying of gay throngs through the King's Park to Arthur's Seat to collect the May-dew."

And e'en among our streets and lanes
And alleys we descry,
By fitful gleams, the fair sunshine,
The blue transparent sky.
O Mother-maid, be thou our aid,
Now in the opening year,
Lest sights of earth to sin give birth,
And bring the tempter near.

* * * * *
Green is the grass ; but wait awhile—
'T will grow, and then will wither ;
The flowrets, brightly as they smile,
Shall perish altogether ;
The merry sun, you sure would say,
It ne'er could set in gloom :
But earth's best joys have all an end,
And sin a heavy doom.
But Mother-maid, thou dost not fade :
With stars above thy brow,
The moon beneath thy queenly feet,
For ever throned art thou.

The green, green grass, the glittering grove,
The heaven's majestic dome,
They image forth a tenderer bower,
A more refulgent home ;
They tell us of that Paradise
Of everlasting rest,
Of that high Tree, all flowers and fruit,
The sweetest, yet the best.
O Mary, pure and beautiful,
Thou art the Queen of May ;
Our garlands wear about thy hair,
And they will ne'er decay.

The allusion here, of course, is to the Epistle for May 1 (St. Philip and St. James), James i., wherein the life of man is compared to grass which withereth, and the flower thereof falleth. The same lesson from the flowers of May, but without the May Queen, is drawn in the hymn for this day (No. 174) in *Church Hymns*, but it has been applied in more homely fashion in the old song, sung by the Mayers at Hitchin, in the county of Hertford :

The hedges and trees they are so green,
As green as any leek ;
Our heavenly Father, He watered them
With His heavenly dew so sweet.

* * * * *
The life of man is but a span,
It flourishes like a flower ;
We are here to-day, and to-morrow we're gone,
And we are dead in an hour.

The same words also occur in a Lancashire Mayers' song, and would seem to be the carol alluded to in the song sung by the two pages in the fifth act of *As You Like It* :

This carol they began that hour,
With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino,
How that a life was but a flower
In springtime, the only pretty ringtime,
When birds do sing, hey ding a ding, ding :
Sweet lovers love the spring.

These ancient May-songs have many of them been preserved ; they are curious compilations of country aphorisms, pious doggerel, and statements concerning May. That sung by the children at Dallington, Northamptonshire, is different to and much prettier than those sung elsewhere :

The flowers are blooming everywhere,
O'er every hill and dale ;
Oh ! how beautiful they are,
How sweetly do they smell !

Go forth, my child, and laugh and play,
And let your cheerful voice,
And birds, and brooks, and merry May,
Cry out, Rejoice ! rejoice !

Carrying about garlands on May Day is still common in many places. Aubrey says that in his day the garlands carried about by young maids at Oxford they afterwards hung up in their churches, and at Charlton-on-Otmoor, in the same county, it is an immemorial custom, still observed, to place a cross composed of flowers and green boughs upon the exquisite rood-loft in the church.* This bearing of the May-garland is nearly the last survival of the old May sports—going "a-Maying," bringing home the May, viz., hawthorn, or, as they phrased it, "bringing home the summer."

In some places, as, for instance, Knutsford in Cheshire, the May Queen has survived. At Burley in the New Forest a May Queen is chosen by lot. At Polebrook in Northamptonshire there is (or was) a Queen, who, with her attendants, gathered flowers during the last days of April to form a garland, and on May morning carried it through the village, preceded by a fiddler and singing a carol. "The garland is afterwards suspended by ropes from the school-house to an opposite tree. . . . With the money collected tea and cakes are provided for the joyous party. The Queen of May takes her seat at the head of the tea-table, under a bower composed of branches of may and blackthorn ; a wreath

* A very good representation of this screen, with the cross surmounting it, may be seen in Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*, Plate 169.

of flowers is placed on her head, and she is hailed "Lady of the May."

So in *Britannia's Pastorals*, 1625, it is mentioned:

As I have seene the *Lady of the May*
Set in an *arbour* on a holy-day,
Built by the may-pole, where the jocund swaines
Dance with the maidens to the bag-pipes straines.

At Cambridge, according to a writer in 1816, there prevailed a custom of children having a figure dressed in a grotesque manner, called a *May Lady*, before which they set a table having on it wine, etc. They also beg money of passengers, which is considered as an offering to the *Maulkin*, for their plea to obtain it is, "Pray remember the poor May Lady." At Saffron Walden the garlands the girls carry are sometimes large and handsome, and a doll is usually placed in the middle dressed in white, according to certain traditional regulations.* Similarly in Devonshire, at Torquay, the custom of bearing dolls in the garlands has existed from time immemorial, and such a one is still borne in triumph by the children of Great Missenden, Bucks. At the village of Glatton, Huntingdonshire, a May Queen is elected and a garland is made; it is of pyramidal shape, composed of crown-imperials, tulips, lilacs, laburnams, anemones, cowslips, kingcups, daffodils, meadow-orchis, wall-flowers, primroses, and as many roses and bright flowers as the season may have produced. These, with the addition of green boughs, are made into a huge pyramidal nosegay, from the front of which a gaily-dressed doll stares vacantly at her admirers. This doll is intended to represent Flora. From the base of the nosegay hang ribbons, handkerchiefs, pieces of silk, and any other gay-coloured fabric that can be borrowed for the occasion. The garland is carried by two maids of honour to the *May Queen*, who place their hands beneath the nosegay, and allow the gay-coloured streamers to fall to the ground. The garland is thus some 6 feet high.

These are a few of the remains of the rite of May and the incoming of summer. Mr. Hartland is of the opinion that in the celebrated Lady Godiva procession at Coventry, on the Friday after Trinity Sunday, we have

the survival of some pageant in connection with the worship of the Earth-goddess.*

* *Science of Fairy Tales*, p. 71 *et seq.* He bases his argument on the fact that there is no historical evidence of the traditional rite; that at the time at which it is said to have occurred there could have been no *market* in the sense conveyed by the story, as, according to the Domesday Survey (cited by Mr. Bloxam), the population of the town at that period could not have exceeded 350, all in some state of servitude, and dwelling probably in mere hovels of one story with a door, but no window; thirdly, that there is a similar tradition at St. Briavels, in the Forest of Dean, though there is no such pageant kept up there; fourthly, on the well-known custom of women, at certain seasons, worshipping apart from men, having rites at which no men are allowed to be present, and which accounts for the Peeping Tom element—as the worship of the Bona Dea among the Romans; and he quotes Pliny as saying that the British women, both matrons and maidens, at such times stained themselves all over with the juice of the woad and went entirely naked; and he points out that at Southam, not far from Coventry, was a similar procession, in which were two Lady Godivas, one of whom was black, which seems to point to the survival of the custom.

A parallel tradition is given from India: "The inhabitants of Chamba were under the necessity of digging a canal for irrigation; but when it was dug, owing to the enchantments of an evil spirit, not a drop of water would flow along its course. A magician at last found out that the spell could be dissolved if the beautiful and virtuous young Princess of Chamba would consent to traverse a given distance of the plain entirely naked, in full view of the populace, and to lose her head when the journey was accomplished. After much hesitation her compassion triumphed over her shame, and she undertook the task. But, lo! as she advanced a thick line of young trees arose to right and left, completely hiding her from cynical eyes. And the shady canal is shown to-day by the good people of Chamba as one of the most authentic monuments of their history."

It would seem that a similar belief still prevails, for we are told that "a potent spell to bring rain was reported as actually practised during the Gorakpur famine of 1873-74. It consisted of a gang of women stripping themselves perfectly naked and going out by night to drag the plough across a field. The men were kept carefully out of the way, as it was believed that peeping by them would not only vitiate the spell, but bring trouble on their village." And again: "At the festival of the local goddess in the village of Serúr, in the Southern Mahratta country, the third and fourth days are devoted to private offerings. Many women, we are told, on these days walk naked to the temple in fulfilment of vows, but they were covered with leaves and bows of trees, and surrounded by their female relations and friends."

To come nearer home, the Countess Martenengo Cesaresco, in her *Study of Folk-Song*, says: "There

* *Illustrated London News*, June 6, 1857.

This month, with all its gladness, once connected with the mythic Goddess of the Earth, from whose marriage with her Lord the Sun spring forth "the kindly fruits of the earth, so as in due time we may enjoy them," has been by our Roman friends—rather late in the day, it would seem—appropriated to the Blessed Mother of our Redeemer—

To Mary pure and beautiful,
The only Queen of May.



The Antiquary among the Pictures.

CRITICS usually reserve any remarks on the sculpture to the end of their notices, but there is good reason for the antiquary to begin where others usually end. Archæologists should not miss seeing the bust of Sir Henry Howorth (1716) by Herbert Hampton, and the medallion in bronze of Sir John Evans (1772) by Frank Bowcher; not only are both these gentlemen antiquaries of the highest renown, and possessed of features that lend themselves readily to reproduction, but they have both been treated with exceptional skill. By far the most pleasing of the larger groups of sculpture is that by Hamo Thornycroft, R.A., which represents Dean Colet, the founder of St. Paul's School, and

is said to also exist a singular vain custom in Croatia. When a drought threatens to injure the crops, a young girl, generally a gipsy, dresses herself entirely in flowers and grasses, in which primitive raiment she is conducted through the village by her companions, who sing to the skies for mercy."

In Thessaly and Macedonia, "in times of prolonged drought, it is customary to dress up in flowers a girl, who heads a procession of children to all the wells in the neighbourhood, and at each halting-place she is drenched with water by her companions, who sing an invocation (*Greek Folk-Songs*, by Lucy M. J. Garnett, where the words of the song are given). It is noteworthy that at Wendlebury in Oxfordshire, and other places, it was formerly the custom, when the last load at harvest was brought home, for the women to throw buckets of water on the harvesters, presumably to insure a copious rainfall in the following season.

two of his scholars (1708); it is to be placed in front of St. Paul's School at West Kensington. Edward VI., to be executed in bronze for Giggleswick School, Yorkshire, by George J. Frampton, A. (1816), is cleverly executed, though the boy-King is placed in a curious standing attitude, and looks as if he was about to juggle with the orb and sceptre that he holds in his extended hands. Giggleswick School (like so many that are wrongly associated with imaginary beneficence on the part of Edward VI. and his Council) was not, however, founded by the reforming kingle, but was simply one of those that were saved from complete extinction. Mr. Frampton and the Governors of Giggleswick School ought to study Mr. Arthur Leach's authoritative and recent work on "English Schools at the Time of the Reformation."

There can be no doubt that the pictures of this year are below the average. The whole exhibition, whether viewed on "press day" or amid the usual crowd, is distinctly dull. It is not disloyal to say that the large picture of the Queen by M. Benjamin Constant (149), in the place of honour in Gallery III., lacks all dignity and refinement; the draperies, palms, and big dull frame all detract from instead of adding to its effectiveness. The crowd is right in passing on from this and pausing much longer in front of "2nd February, 1901," by John Charlton (253), which is an admirable view of the latter part of the great funeral procession of the late Queen as it passed St. James's Palace. It is a picture worthy of the nation's sorrow; higher praise could not be given. In the same gallery is "The Passing of a Great Queen," by W. S. Wyllie, A. (272), which represents with masterly effect the stately escort of great ships of war bringing the remains of England's Queen from her island home to the mainland as the sun went down in the subdued glow of a winter sunset. "The Victorian Era" (418) is a big sprawling allegorical design from Glasgow, which both in conception and execution is altogether unworthy of the name; its unpleasant effect and the blight that it casts on some good pictures near it reflect much discredit on the hangers of Gallery VI.

Another picture not worthy of its subject

is "God Save the King!" by W. Hatherell (114); it represents York Herald proclaiming Edward VII. at the corner of Chancery Lane; the most is made of the utterly ridiculous costume of the herald—red striped trousers and cocked hat in conjunction with a tabard! It is much to be hoped that the historic College of Arms will revise their costume before the Coronation.

The President of the Academy has only one picture, "Helena and Hermia" (169), of the usual classic style; it is, of course, most ably painted, but the strong contrasts of blues and greens are displeasing. Alma-Tadema, R.A., also hangs only one picture (in addition to a portrait), "Under the Roof of Blue Ionian Weather" (220); the work is exquisite, but it is possible to have too much of white marble steps and alcoves, however marvellously rendered.

There is a singular dearth this year, both at the Academy and elsewhere, of sacred pictures, which is, we fear, a sign of irreverent days. "St. Christopher," by Clement O. Skilbeck (518), is a not unpleasing but somewhat matter-of-fact rendering of the time-honoured legend. "The Evening of Life," by Theophile Lybaert (89), is a wonderfully clever and most suggestive picture of an aged woman reading in a convent garden; it will escape the notice of or repel the crowd of idle gazers, but we would sooner have painted that than any other picture in the Academy.

"Four corners to my bed, four angels round my head;
Matthew, Mark, Luke and John bless the bed
that I lie on,"

by J. L. Gloag (210), is a painfully ludicrous representation of a wide-awake baby in his cot gazing up to the ceiling, and happily unconscious of the presence of four plain-featured angels in dingy attire with red and yellow haloes, who have been materialized at the four corners of the crib after the most prosaic fashion. Three of them have brought with them musical instruments; the one in the foreground is supposed to be playing an archaic hand-organ, but the angel is evidently unused to its mechanism, and the notes are being merely rattled, for there is no possibility of any wind passing through the pipes. What screams of terror that poor

baby would utter if it were only conscious of its ungainly surroundings!

Mr. Abbey, R.A., is one of several leading artists who is this year considerably below his usual standard. "The Crusaders sighting Jerusalem" (163), with three large figures on a hill summit, is disappointing; the blood-shot eyes of the tallest, of royal rank, have too much of the gleam of mere battle in them, whilst the face of the second is so weak and worldly that he ought to have perished with the unfittest before Europe was left. There is not a high-souled or deep expression among the three; the subject is clearly quite outside Mr. Abbey's grasp. "The Clouds that gather round the Setting Sun," by J. Seymour Lucas, R.A. (300), is the good title of a good picture of Cardinal Wolsey rebuffed by his royal master in the gardens of Hampton Court. Ernest Crofts, R.A., with his fondness for Cavalier subjects, gives an admirable forest scene preparatory to a duel, "An Affair of Honour" (75), whilst Mr. F. D. Millet is equally successful in another style with his two Puritan pictures, "The Proposal" (9) and "An Accusation of Witchcraft" (857). "The King's Yeoman," by Arthur Garratt (14), is an effective study of this most effective costume, which should not be confused with that of the Beefeater. "Gegetta," by Luke Fildes, R.A. (198), is a study in blue; the gipsy-like features and glowing dark eyes are charmingly rendered.

The war with the Boers naturally gives rise to several pictures. Far the most attractive of these, the chief merit of which is the horses, is Lucy Kemp-Welch's "In Sight" (417), which represents Lord Dundonald's dash on Ladysmith.

Of modern subject paintings, two are specially pleasing: "Fine Feathers," by Helen Cridland (62)—the face of the little girl gazing in wonder at the screaming cockatoo is inimitable—and "Only Me," by Marie Lucas (340), a child knocking at her mother's bedroom door, with snowdrops in one hand.

Portraits abound this year, if possible more than ever. Of course, Mr. Sargeant attracts the largest amount of attention, but we fancy he has reached the apogee of his fame, and already there are signs of reaction.

In our opinion, an artist who is by choice a portrait-painter should think first of the portrait, and put his own cleverness or dash in the second place; no one can say that this is the case with this popular Anglo-American painter. The best of his pictures is the group of Sir George Sitwell, Lady Ida Sitwell, and children (811). Mr. H. Harris Brown, by his pictures in this year's Academy and New Gallery, continues to show the diversity of his gifts and the public's appreciation. Rev. Canon Wood (24), by Dorothea Wood, is an excellent subject for painting, and most ably portrayed. Close by is a delightful picture, by Ralph Peacock, of Edward, son of Victor Cavendish, M.P. (26), whose bright child face and figure are an admirable foil to the venerable features of the Canon. The portrait of Thomas C. Dewey (108), by Arthur Hacker, A., is almost literally a speaking likeness, and about the best of all the galleries. There are some persons possessed of such remarkable features, if the artists are to be believed, that the marvel is that anyone wishes them to be painted, or, if the portraits are done, that the artist himself does not rend them in pieces. To this category belong the "Portrait of a Gentleman" and that of two children, in Gallery III., who are without exception (on canvas) the ugliest pair that we have ever seen in or out of frames.

Landscapes are by no means remarkable. Benjamin Leader, R.A., sends four; "An Old Southern Port" (445), intended, we believe, for Lymington, and "Our South Coast" (458), show the artist's cunning in somewhat new directions; they both achieve considerable success. Nevertheless, we have known several years when we have liked him better. J. MacWhirter, R.A., shows the wealth of Alpine flora in the early summer in his "A Flowery Path: Switzerland in June" (99). The same artist has achieved another success in "A Fallen Giant" (203), with a bold glow in the distance. "Down to the Ferry" (404), by J. Farquharson, A.; "Leisure to go a-Fishing" (464), by Frank Walton; "Ardlin, Loch Lomond" (900), by David Farquharson; and "Collecting the Flock" (164), by Peter Graham, R.A., are all memorable pictures. The aged Sidney Cooper still presents good work. "Rough

Weather working up" (464) is the best of his four; it represents a flock of sheep seeking the shelter of a beech-tree from an approaching storm.

In Gallery X. is a striking flower picture, "Foxgloves" (841), by Mary Harding.

The Water-Colour Gallery is fairly attractive, especially on the right-hand side as the room is entered. "Canterbury Cathedral" (1109), by Herbert J. Finn, gives a noble rendering of the central and western towers from the south-east.

In the Architectural Room the ecclesiastical designs of Mr. Temple Moore and those of Mr. G. F. Bodley, A., are well worth studying.

J. C. C.



The Black Death in Yorkshire (1349).

BY W. H. THOMPSON.

(Concluded from p. 137.)

IF the Yorkshire towns we know very little; indeed, in the modern sense of the term, there were then no large towns in the county. For the poll tax of 1377 York, by far the most important, was only assessed for 7,248 inhabitants; Beverley was set down for 2,663; whilst Hull for less than two-thirds the number of Beverley—viz., 1,557 persons. Taking into account the evasions of the tax and the children under age, these figures have been estimated to be equal to about 13,500 York, 5,000 Beverley, and Hull 3,000 inhabitants respectively. However picturesque their narrow streets and overhanging gables may have been, certainly our old towns were not salubrious, under even the most favourable circumstances. Everyone acquainted with the old cities on the Continent will be familiar enough with that mediæval smell which still haunts the more ancient thoroughfares, and such a richly confected cloud of thick and heavy aroma hung perennially over the larger towns and cities of the Middle Ages. So when the pestilence invaded the land, it always found

a ready atmosphere in which to fructify. Improper drainage, imperfect sanitary arrangements, crowded graveyards in the midst of human dwellings, and decaying refuse in the streets, all told their tale when the testing time came.

An ancient authority says the Black Death raged in the city of York from Ascension Day to the Feast of St. James. And, we presume, accepting this statement, Dr. Creighton says it had subsided there by the end of July. But we think the assertion should be taken with reserve. The Coroners' Rolls (published by the Selden Society) would seem to us to suggest that it continued well into the month of August. Indeed, in the case of one inquest held under the date of August 7 it is distinctly stated that the person died from the *pestilence*. Archbishop de la Zouche, who survived the plague, made his will June, 1349.

According to the Melsa Chronicle, the Abbot of Meaux and five monks were all laid dead in the house at the same time, on August 12, and a further seventeen monks and six who were not in Orders died during the same month. A great part of the new clergy for the surrounding district, too, were appointed in September and October, so we are fairly justified in assuming that August or thereabout marked the climax of the visitation, for at least the eastern portion of the county.

Thus, breaking out in Dorsetshire in the South-west in August, 1348, the Black Death may be said to have spent itself in these Northern parts about Michaelmas, 1349, having raged for a period of fourteen months with a severity so awful, and causing results so widespread, that this year may be regarded as marking a distinct dividing-line in English history. We do not seek to unduly magnify the significance of the visitation, and yet this statement may be made in all sober truth. There was desolation everywhere. Village lanes as silent as the grave; stock wandering unherded through waste and cornlands; city streets thronged only with dead-carts; a few priests and terrified citizens flitting here and there, more like ghostly phantoms than living men. Little wonder that those who were children then looked back in after-years to that dread period as one remembers a disordered evil dream.

With a large portion of the able-bodied population cut off—one half, or perhaps even two-thirds—as soon as the plague subsided, the influence of the mortality began to be immediately felt in the labour market. Lands had to lay waste because there were not hands left to cultivate them. Here is a local illustration, typical of hosts of others: In 1350 an inquisition post-mortem was taken at York concerning certain lands lately held by John de Cave of Middleton, near Watton, now deceased, to which his son William is heir. Part of this consists of four bovates, formerly worth a rental of six shillings per annum, *but now, owing to the great mortality amongst the men which has taken place, lying waste and untilled*; also a further eight bovates—six in tillage, worth thirty shillings yearly, *but two lying untilled on account of the recent mortality*; likewise a windmill, once worth four shillings per annum, *but now depreciated on account of the mortality*. This is only a typical case, and the Melsa Chronicle quite confirms the woeful picture.

With the Abbot, the Prior, the bursar, the cellarer, and other old officials, cut off, the finances of the abbey were paralyzed, but they were further involved through the death of so large a number of the tenants. "Major pars tenentium nostrum obissent," says the chronicle. And money had to be raised by all sorts of unusual means, such as pledging in advance the abbey's future produce of corn and wool. It is not surprising that in the end all this finished well-nigh in bankruptcy.

The dearth of hands to till the land and reap the crops gave the peasant who survived the Black Death fresh conceptions of his value in the social economy. There was a general rise in wages, and, as a result of the scarcity of labourers, strenuous efforts were made to enforce the ancient villein serf laws, which in more prosperous times had been allowed to fall into disuse. Further, it was sought to strengthen the hands of the masters by fresh legislation, the Labour Statutes of 1350 having this end in view. These statutes were peculiarly galling to the peasantry, inasmuch as, whilst prices of produce had advanced on every hand, wages were fixed at the standard rates existing before the breaking out of the pestilence. Hence there began all over England a series of desertions on

the part of the villein serfs, and, regardless of the penalties involved, there were plenty of land-holders willing enough to employ them. Here again the Melsa Chronicle draws back the curtain five centuries, and gives us interesting glimpses of local conditions. Shortly after the Black Death two of the *nativi* of Beeford absconded, but were recaptured and imprisoned in fetters at Wawne Grange until they submitted, and declared on oath their condition of serfdom. But this was only preliminary to a struggle on a larger scale. The serfs of Wawne soon followed with a general rebellion. Some of the ringleaders were seized and imprisoned in the abbey, but one of them, a certain Richard, escaped and appealed to the King's escheator in Holderness, alleging that he and his fellows were the King's bondsmen, pertaining to the royal manor of Easington. And for a time the serfs had the best of it. An inquisition was held by the escheator, when the assertions of the serfs were substantiated, and they were kept for some time in the royal service. But the monks would not let the matter rest. Another inquisition was held, which reversed the first decision, and reassigned the men with their families and chattels to the monks. Cross-suits followed, but eventually judgment was given in favour of the Abbot of Meaux. He, however, was exhorted to treat the serfs well, and not to punish them for their proceedings. Let us hope he *did* treat them well, but the curtain falls, and we hear no more.

But there were numbers of absconding serfs who did not find new masters—probably they did not wish to do so—and here arose another social development of the times. Bands of masterless, able-bodied vagrants began to wander over the country, terrorizing the more peaceful, law-abiding portion of the community, and adding a fresh trouble to the national life.

The annals of Beverley afford us illustration bearing upon this social aspect of things. A large body of turbulent law-breakers, shortly after the period of the Black Death, appear to have taken practically possession of that town and the neighbourhood, and to have become a menace to the peace of the entire countryside. It was so serious a matter that the Crown had at length to in-

vestigate the disturbances, and from the royal letter on the subject we are able to gather interesting details. From this statement of the reasons for the Commission, it is set forth that on the day of St. Mark the Evangelist, when the townspeople gathered together to elect twelve of the wealthiest and most honest of their number to be their representatives to transact the town business for the following year, a number of these armed men approached the Guildhall, and by their intimidation prevented the election taking place. Moreover, the malcontents "beat and assaulted the citizens," and now "five hundred men wander and go about day as well as night in the town and adjacent parts, lying in wait to kill or commit other intolerable mischief."* We are not surprised to learn that in such days of social disorder building operations at the minster were interrupted—for thirty years it is stated; and when work was recommenced, it was quite in a new style of architecture.

And speaking of the interruption in church building, Beverley Minster is by no means the only example of work having been brought to a standstill by the terrible visitation of 1349. We have another similar case at Patrington. Here is one of the finest of East Yorkshire churches, a splendid edifice in the Decorated style. It should have been completed about the year of the plague, but in consequence of the general stoppage in building operations, owing to the general disorder of the period, the side-aisles of the church were never vaulted, and the edifice has remained in this respect incomplete to the present day.

How far the Black Death was responsible for the deterioration in the morale of the clergy and religious Orders which characterized the close of the fourteenth century is a disputed point with historians. Personally we are inclined to hold that it was answerable for a good deal in this direction. It is unquestionable there was a levelling down in educational standards. In the great York Grammar School, for instance, it had been the rule that the Chancellor should always be a scholar who held the degree of Master of Arts. But such was the scarcity of eligible men, owing to the repeated plagues, that this

* *Vide* Poulson's *Beverlac*, pp. 125-128.

rule had to be relaxed and a Chancellor appointed without the degree.* And in the church itself, after the terrible mortality of 1349 and the following visitations, we think that there can be little doubt that nice distinctions as to fitness and general character were set aside in many instances—this both in the case of the parish priests as well as the various orders of monks and friars.

Like other members of the community, the parish priests became dissatisfied with their stipends, and agitated for increased payments; but Parliament stepped in and fixed the salaries of the parish priests at six marks per annum. Then, as the parsons could not get an increase in their direct stipends, and, really, often their impoverished diminished parishioners could ill afford them more, they sought to supplement their income in another way. Says the author of *Piers Plowman*:

Parsons and parish priests complained to the Bishop,

That their parishioners had been poor since the pestilence time,

To have license and leave in London to dwell
And sing there for simony, for silver is sweet.

They deserted their cures and took engagements as chantry priests in London or elsewhere, leaving their flocks to take care of themselves. Chaucer points it out as an especial excellence on the part of his Poor Parson, that he did not run away to St. Paul's in this manner.

The pictures which Chaucer gives us of Northern clerics are of considerable value. In his day the average Englishman of the South knew very little of these Northern parts, except he had some sort of idea that the Devil dwelt in this direction (see the *Friar's Tale* for illustration of this point). But the poet himself was an exception. He was in Yorkshire as a youth, when page in the suite of the Lady Elizabeth, daughter-in-law of Edward III. In after-life, too, he was attached to the De la Pole interest, when Michael de la Pole was Lord Chancellor, and it is hardly necessary to show how intimately this family was associated with Yorkshire—the town of Hull more particularly. It is certainly suggestive that he especially refers to Hull in his portrait of the Shipman:

There was none such from Hull to Carthage.

And even more to the point still, in the present connection, is the fact that he should lay the plot of his *Sompnour's Tale* in Holderness. If we take this story, and the picture in the *Miller's Tale* of the two Northern clerks—embryo parsons—as drawn from life, it would appear that the poet had anything but exalted ideas of the manners of either friars or clerics in these Northern parts. Indeed, his portraits quite bear out our contention that there was a marked deterioration of the most serious character in the morale of the clergy and religious Orders generally as the fourteenth century drew towards its close. If we could have contrasted the friar, who is the hero of the *Sompnour's Tale*, with the friars who came preaching the Crusade in the vicinity, a century or so earlier, we are afraid he would have shown up very poorly in the comparison.

The same held good of most of the monastic Orders. Earlier in their history those who had taken the monkish cowl were men of transparent character and single aim, many of the deepest piety and devotion, who did everything in the spirit of religion. But if we take the Chronicle of Meaux alone as an authority, we cannot but detect a decided falling off in the religious atmosphere of the abbey. This is indicated by the internal strife in the house for priority, and in other ways.

Although, however, the period which followed the Black Death was largely marked by social ebb, it was not by any means all loss. The peasant population, though temporarily cowed and beaten down, asserted themselves in their Great Rising in a manner which made rulers think twice before again seeking to place upon them burdens too great to be borne. Then, also, the lowering of the clergy standard was fraught with important issues. There was created a priesthood, who were the sons of the people, whose sympathies were with the Socialistic movements of the times. Some of Wycliffe's most devoted followers were of the priestly class, and there were a goodly number of leading spirits in the great peasants' revolt drawn from the same Order.

Thus the crises of one generation are interwoven with the stirring movements of the next, and so, despite of even temporary disaster, the scheme of history unfolds itself from age to age.

* Vide *Early Yorkshire Schools*, York, p. 26.
VOL. XXXVII.

The Antiquary's Note-Book.

ON A UNIQUE LOWESTOFT JUG WITH COVER.



HEN so much rubbish described as "genuine Lowestoft" is foisted upon the unsuspecting and ignorant collector, by the possibly equally ignorant "curiosity" dealer, it may be of interest to record a genuine capture.

Described in a local sale catalogue as "a quaint flowered and gilt ewer and cover,"



bought by a dealer and sold as "Oriental" for 20s., the following possibly unique piece has passed into my collection.

Eleven and a half inches high, it bears all the characteristics of well-authenticated Lowestoft. The "patted" surface so aptly

described by Chaffers, the modelled feather pattern in imitation of Capo di Monte, the marone trellis or scale pattern with the rose plentifully distributed over the surface, all denoting the peculiar features of this factory, are well shown in the accompanying photograph. The cover is decorated with carefully modelled sea-shells painted in marone and picked out with gold.

Chaffers mentions that in pieces produced towards the close of the factory a small blue cornflower was introduced; this will be noticed over the group of roses and to the left of the curious Medusa-shaped object. Inside the cover is a small three-leaved plant painted in vermillion under the glaze, evidently a painter's mark; otherwise I can detect no other.

C. FRED. FOX.

22, ST. THOMAS'S SQUARE,
NEWPORT, I. W.



Antiquarian News.

[We shall be glad to receive information from our readers for insertion under this heading.]

RECENT excavations in the ancient Temple of Minerva, in the Isle of Ægina, have resulted in the discovery of five heads of statues in marble. The heads, of which three are of young men and two of women, are in a good state of preservation, and of excellent artistic quality. There has also been found the hand of the statue of Minerva, which is now in the Museum at Munich, and which was restored by the famous sculptor Thorwaldsen.

Mr. Alfred Kingston's new book, entitled *The Romance of a Hundred Years*, reviewed in last month's *Antiquary*, has been so well received that the greater part of the edition printed has been sold in a few weeks. The book will not, we understand, be reprinted.

M. André Lemoine, member of the Société Académique of the Marne, has discovered recently on one of his estates a Gallic tomb containing the skeletons of two soldiers. By the side of each (says the *Journal des Débats*) was a short sword, and at the head were two lances and two javelins of iron. One of the warriors had a gold ring on his finger.

Mr. George A. Fotheringham, M.B., is publishing through Messrs. W. Dresser and Sons, of Darlington, *A North Country Album*, which will contain

brief notes of the signs and signboards and sundials in North Yorkshire and Durham, character sketches, studies of animal and bird life, picturesque landscape and buildings, etc., with 140 illustrations by the author. The book will be issued in royal quarto at the price of 6s. net.

SALES.

MESSRS. PUTTICK AND SIMPSON included in their sale of books yesterday an unusually fine copy of the Third Folio edition of Shakespeare's collected plays (1664), in contemporary calf binding and with the old book-plate of the Affleck family. Although clean and sound throughout, and measuring 13½ inches by 8½ inches, it is, unfortunately, not quite perfect, as two leaves have been omitted by the binder, and the page containing the portrait has had a small piece torn out of it. The copy nevertheless realized the very high price of £385 (Pickering). The excessive rarity of reasonably perfect copies of the Third Folio is well known, but it is only within the last decade that it has realized noteworthy prices. The most remarkable copy of which there is any note attained the record figure of £435 on June 19, 1894, at Christie's; this measured 13½ inches by 8½ inches, and had the excessively rare—and probably unique—title-page to the doubtful plays. The third highest price for a copy of this edition was paid at Sotheby's in 1895, viz., £350.—*Times*, April 23.

Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge concluded the eight days' sale of the library of the late Sir W. A. Fraser, Bart., on April 30. The following are some of the remarkably high prices realized: Ackermann's Repository of Arts, 1809-28, 40 vols., £37; Alken's British Sports, 318 plates, 1821, etc., £225; National Sports, 1825, £35; Cannon's Historical Records of the British Army, 42 vols., £20; sixteen large coloured groups of Austrian Military and Naval Costume, £48; Charles Bar, Costumes des Ordres Religieux et Militaires, 864 coloured plates, Paris, 1778-89, £44; Baudoin (S. R.), Exercice de l'Infanterie Française, 56 coloured plates, Paris, 1757, £38; Illustrations of Bedfordshire Antiquities, original MS., with drawings, 1868, £49; Bickham's Musical Entertainer, 2 vols., £30; Bryan's Dictionary of Painters, with 1,890 extra illustrations, 11 vols., £80; Bucks' Views, £59; Bunbury's Caricatures, etc. (67), £33; five Pamphlets by Dr. R. Price and others, with MS. notes by Edmund Burke, £24; Robert Burns's Poems, Kilmarnock reprints, with an original letter from Burns to "Clarinda" and one from her to Burns, 3 vols., 1867-69, £40; Byron's Hours of Idleness, first edition, large paper, 1807, £24; Hours of Idleness, with *Edinburgh Review* Critique, and English Bards, illustrated with portraits, views, original drawings, autograph letters, caricatures, etc., 3 vols., folio, £238; Letters, Journals, Life, by Thomas Moore, with Leigh Hunt's Byron and his Contemporaries, extra illustrated and extended to 23 vols., 1828-30, £80; Sir Julius Cæsar's

Life, by E. Lodge, original drawings of the portraits, etc., 1810-17, £33 10s.; Camden's Britannia, extra illustrated, 6 vols., 1772, £64; Chapman's Homer, N. Butter, n.d., £23 10s.; Chronicles, 34 vols., 1803-27, £30 10s.; Clarendon's Rebellion, extra illustrated with 346 portraits, etc., £36; Club Life in London, extra illustrated with the Kit-Cat Club portraits and other mezzotints, and nearly all the scarce pamphlets of the eighteenth century relating to the clubs of London, etc., 17 vols., £500; Collins's Odes, first edition, 1747, £30 10s.; Cook's Voyages, complete set of the plates in several states, with original drawings from the Hamilton Palace library, £70; Coronation of George IV., with coloured costume portraits, J. Whittaker, 1822, £69; Costumes, with some plates by Hayter and W. M. Craig, E. Orme, Singleton, etc. (50), £136; Covent Garden Theatre O.P. Riots, 1809, caricatures, squibs, broadsides, newspaper cuttings, satirical ballads, musical compositions, with views and coloured caricatures, £66; a Collection of 2,827 Caricatures by George Cruikshank, some in several states, bound in 8 vols., £445; Jerrold's Life of Cruikshank, with extra illustrations, bound in 5 vols., £76; Original Drawings of Isaac Cruikshank (115), with his son George's attestation of their genuineness, £550; Daniell and Ayton's Voyage round Great Britain, coloured and retouched by the artists, £47; Daryl's Caricatures (316), 1766-78, £46; Davies's Dramatic Miscellanies, Horace Walpole's copy, with profuse notes by him, 1784, £41; Drapeaux François, 60 plates, Mayor Bailly's copy (1792), £31 10s.; Dugdale's Ancient Usage in the Bearing of Arms, with 450 extra portraits, 1812, £67; Eckert et Montén, Les Armées d'Europe, 379 plates, Munich, s.d., £33; Edmondson's Baronagium Genealogicum, emblazoned and illustrated with 225 mezzo and other portraits, 1764-84, £81; Collection of Gainsborough Engravings (95), £160; Petite Galerie Dramatique, 1,600 theatrical figures, Paris, Martinet, s.d., £80; Garrick's Private Correspondence and Memoir, with numerous extra illustrations, 3 vols., 4to., £74; Gavarni, Œuvres Humoresques, 870 plates, £32; Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, first edition, 1766, £80; another, £65; the Deserted Village, first quarto edition, 1770, £30 10s.; The Haunch of Venison, 1776, £25; Gray's Odes, first edition, with MS. notes by the poet, extra illustrations, etc., George Daniel's copy, £370; Poems, with Memoirs by Mason, Elegy, first edition, illustrated with portraits, autographs, etc., George Daniel's copy, £195; Designs by R. Bentley for Six Poems by Gray, the poet's own copy, containing MS. Ode to Poesy, extra stanza to the Elegy, etc., George Daniel's copy, £400; Lady Hamilton's Attitudes, with some extra prints inserted, 1807, £31; William Heath's Oddities, 39 original drawings, £121; N. Heideloff's Gallery of Fashion, 1794-1802 (plate wanting), £66; Hone's Political Tracts, etc., his own copy, used by him in his three trials, £27; Collection of 70 Jest-Books of the Eighteenth Century, in 17 vols., £68; Johnson's Rasselas, third edition, the Doctor's own copy, 1760, £143; Boswell's Life of Johnson, and Tour to the Hebrides, 5 vols., 1785-1816, Mrs. Thrale's (Piozzi's) copy, with numerous notes,

£89; Johnsoniana, with drawings, autograph letters, etc., £59; Ben Jonson's Works, 1616-40, £30; Edmund Kean, scarce Tracts relating to him, £32; Kemble's Memoirs by Boaden, with several hundred extra illustrations, 1825, £131; Kit-Cat Club, original impressions, 1735, £45; Laborde, Choix de Chansons, Paris, 1773, £70; Lafontaine, Contes, 1762, £49; Le Pautre, Œuvres d'Architecture, 3 vols., 1751, £37; The Looking-Glass, or Caricature Annual, 7 vols., 1830-36, £36; Lysons's Environs of London; illustrated with 5,000 extra views by W. Wilson, 26 vols., £335; Costume of the Allied Armies in Paris in 1815, £60; English Military Costumes (59), n.d., £46; German Military Costumes, 56 original drawings, £56; Military Memoirs of America and Europe, collected by Sir W. D. Smith, Speaker of the House of Assembly, Canada, 33 vols., £58; Pictorial Episodes in the Lives of the Great Captains of the Age, a collection of 400 illustrations, £99; Moreau's Illustrations to Bret's edition of Molière, 1773, 45 plates, some in first and other states, £316; Moore's Lalla Rookh, author's autograph MS. with proof-sheets and MS. correction, 1817, £330; Moreau le Jeune, Monument du Costume Physique et Moral du XVIII^e Siècle, £67; J. S. Munden's Memoirs, with 500 extra illustrations by H. Saker, 3 vols., £100; Catalogue of the Household Effects at Longwood (Napoleon I.'s residence at St. Helena), 1822, £86; Portraits of Napoleon I. and his Generals (20), Paris, Chez Potrelle, £149; Caricatures on Napoleon (232), from Lord Farnham's collection, £65; Ashton's English Caricature on Napoleon I., illustrated with 557 rare prints, £254; Large Engravings of Naval Engagements, 1797-1803 (96), published by R. Dodd, etc., £235; Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, illustrated with 1,300 portraits, 19 vols., 1812-58, £50; Pen-nant's Tour in Scotland, illustrated with 834 water-colour drawings and engravings, 6 vols., 1769-72, £91; Pope's Works, Foulis's edition, 5 vols., illustrated with 600 prints and portraits, many very rare, 1785, £265; Works, 10 vols., 1743-51, Horace Walpole's copy, £20 10s.; Portraits of Ladies (210), many very fine, £1,450; Portraits of Ladies and Coloured Prints, many scarce (93), £155; Prior's Poems, first authorized edition, large paper, Sarah Duchess of Marlborough's copy, 1709, £25 10s.; Purchas's Pilgrims, 5 vols., original frontispiece to vol. i., 1625-26, £58; Ranelagh and Marylebone Gardens, 269 prints, £48; Sir J. Reynolds's Works, 142 plates, £36; Engravings from his Works by S. W. Reynolds, 3 vols., Hodgson, n.d., £36; Rigaud, Vues des Palais, etc., de Paris, 1752, etc., £43 10s.; Original Drawings by Thomas Rowlandson (52), £435; another Collection of 75 Drawings, £160; Loyal Volunteers, 1799, £46; R. Sayer, Collection of Mezzotints (205), etc., £151; Schütz u. Ziegler, Aussichten Wiens, German and French, 130 plates, Wien, 1785, etc., £219; Scott's Novels, complete set of first editions (except Waverley), 74 vols., £61; The Scourge, 11 vols., 1811-16, £34; Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery, double set of plates, proofs, and etchings, 1803, £64; C. Hamilton Smith's Original Drawings of Costumes Ancient

and Modern (about 2,000), £242 16s.; Steele's Tatler, first 8vo. edition, 1710, large paper, presentation copy, £25 10s.; Swift's Works by Sheridan, 1803, Thackeray's copy, £51; Thackeray's The Newcomes, author's own copy, 1854, £53; Costume du Théâtre Moderne de Paris, 11 vols., Paris, Martinet, £34; Old Bailey Sessions Papers, 1729-1895, £29; Vauxhall Gardens Collections, £80; Carter's Drawings and Sketches of Horace Walpole's Seat at Strawberry Hill, £74. The 1,852 lots making the eight days' sale realized £20,334 18s. 6d.—*Athenæum*, April 27; May 4 and 11.

PUBLICATIONS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

We have received the *Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society*, vol. ix., part i. It contains, besides the annual report and brief records of several meetings of the society, a note on an "Early English Capital found at Hinckley," by Mr. T. Harrold; an interesting account, with illustration by Colonel Bellairs, of a large wooden cross, 18 feet long, with a cross piece of 16 feet, which was found in July, 1899, buried under a mound at Higham-on-the-Hill; the continuation of Mr. Henry Hartopp's careful "Calendar of Leicestershire Administration Bonds, 1556 to 1649"; and a very fine plate of the Roman pavement recently discovered near St. Nicholas' Church, Leicester.

The *Transactions of the East Herts Archaeological Society* for 1900 (vol. i., part ii.) have reached us, and bear witness to the energy with which the affairs of this young society are conducted. Among the longer contributions are papers on "Furneaux Pelham," by Mr. R. T. Andrews; the "Opening of a Barrow in Easney Wood," by Sir John Evans; the "Roman Station at Braughing," by Mr. W. B. Gerish; and "Some Church Chests in East Hertfordshire," by Mr. J. A. Tregelles. The "Notes on Finds" include notices of Roman vases and pottery, a fifteenth-century ring, cinerary urns, and the remains of a prehistoric interment at Weston. A brief account of the annual meeting and of several excursions, together with the report and balance-sheet for 1900, conclude a part which amply justifies the existence of the society. There are several useful illustrations.

The new volume, now before us, of *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (New Series, vol. xiv.) contains another of Mr. C. H. Firth's masterly studies of the Cromwellian battles, that of Dunbar, illustrated by a reproduction of a quaint contemporary picture-plan of the fight preserved in the Sutherland "Clarendon" in the Bodleian Library, but which has been neglected by previous historians. Among the other papers, in a volume of unusually varied interest and value, are several studies in social history, including a careful account of "The Decay of Villeinage in East Anglia," by Miss F. G. Davenport; a learned study of that obscure subject, "The Tribal

Hidage," by Mr. W. J. Corbett; and a discussion of much interest by Messrs. E. F. Gay and I. S. Leadam of "The Inquisitions of Depopulation in 1517 and the 'Domesday of Inclosures.'" In "The Oldest Monument of Russian Travel," Mr. Raymond Beazley gives an outline of the remarkable journey of the Archimandrite Daniel of Kiev to the Holy Land about A.D. 1106-07. Miss Kate Norgate thoroughly investigates "The Alleged Condemnation of King John by the Court of France in 1202," and comes to the conclusion that the sentence of forfeiture of all lands held by John of the King of France, alleged to have been passed by that Court, was not a fact, but a fiction invented by King Philip Augustus in 1204-05. Of more modern interest are two excellent papers: "The Development of Political Parties during the Reign of Queen Anne"—the Alexandra Prize Essay for 1899—by Mr. Walter Frewen Lord; and Mrs. D'Arcy Collyer's "Notes on the Diplomatic Correspondence between England and Russia in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century." Finally, the volume contains a Presidential Address by Dr. A. W. Ward, which is a model of what such addresses should be.

PROCEEDINGS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

ROYAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE. — General meeting, May 1, Mr. E. W. Brabrook, C.B., V.P., F.S.A., in the chair.—Mr. E. Green, in the absence of the author, read a paper by A. R. Whiteway, Esq., M.A., on "The Pyrenean Neighbour, or the Vicinal System in the Western Pyrenees." Mr. Whiteway, long resident at Pau, having given attention to and mastered the very difficult Bearnais dialect, has followed up his advantage by a close examination and study of the local archives, from which he has gathered many notes on local customs, and especially this vicinal system, hitherto a neglected and unwritten chapter in the history of social institutions. Reference to the *voisin* is frequent in Pyrenean folk-lore, as in

Que bau mey u Besii
Qu'u cousii.

In modern French, "*Voisin vaut mieux que cousin*." The *voisin* must be regarded in two lights—firstly, in relation to his public duties to his neighbourhood; and, secondly, in the closer and more restricted sense of his private duties to individuals. It was to this latter that the author of the paper gave prominence, the idea of fellowship and interdependence, which he had found so undoubtedly existed between *voisins*—something which went both in town and country much further than the mere tenure of land. In Bearn the *voisin* was distinguished from the *habitant* and the stranger, and formed a privileged class; the neighbour was a descriptive relationship as fully recognised as was that of citizen elsewhere, the mutual obligations being clear and far-reaching. Nothing germane to the vicinal system is to be discovered in the code of Alaric, which was the outcome of the earlier Roman influence. An instance of the

application of these early customs may be found in 1289, when the men of the fishing village of Biarritz claimed to be *voisins* of Bayonne, and so free from entry duty there—a contention disallowed by Edward I. The right of *voisinage* was obtained by birth, by marriage, or by sojourn for a year and a day, provided that the proper oath were taken—to be faithful to the King and the commune, and to undertake no evil against neighbours; failing this, the claimant had to quit the neighbourhood. Among other privileges, such as exception almost from military service, the *voisin* claimed to be tried in his own communal court and by a jury of his peers. The position was lost if the holder would not conform to the customs or the opinion of the majority, when he became an outlaw, and nearly all neighbourly acts were withdrawn. But besides or against these privileges there were obligations towards others. These reciprocal duties, entirely peculiar to this district of the Western Pyrenees, exist to the present day, though somewhat modified by time. The obligation to be good and kind to your neighbour was binding, but between the treatment of the stranger and the *voisin* there was a great difference. As in old time the cry of the collier was, "Here's a stranger, *Jem*; heave a brick at un," so it was also the Pyrenean method. Love your neighbour as yourself was the ideal of the *voisin* to his own class only. The twofold duties, sometimes onerous, sometimes advantageous, towards the body politic and towards each other, were always clearly defined. Thus, the nearest neighbour on the side of the house nearest the church summoned to weddings, at which his eldest daughter was bridesmaid and witness; he also conducted funerals and attended all memorial services. It is not easy to draw fully a clear picture of this system, which was so strong in this district in the Middle Ages. Its survival must be due to its eminent fitness, just as its evolution was due to the wants it so well supplied. The whole life of the people centred round this vicinal system, for which hitherto no name has been found, and upon which as yet no monograph exists.—Mr. H. Longden next read a paper on cast iron, and dealt principally with cast-iron fire-backs, examples and photographs of which were exhibited. One specimen shown bore the royal arms of James I., 1604; another of "Richard Lenard, founder at Bred Fournis, 1636," showed a portrait of Richard Lenard standing in the middle of the implements of his trade and of the products of his foundry. A Puritan back showed the sacrifice of Isaac, the Patriarch Jacob blessing the sons of Joseph, Joseph being put into the pit, and Jacob being informed of the death of Joseph; another showed the Rose surmounted by the Crown, 1650; and a very fine one, "Fairfax Counquiror, 1649," gave the general on horseback finely modelled. A note was made of a fire-back belonging to Mr. Edmund James, where an earlier model of St. George and the Dragon was surmounted by the legend "*Cursius*" and "*Nil Desperandum, 1650*," was placed at the side of the figure. It was thought that this back had a Royalist signification in contrast to the Fairfax

back.—In the discussion on this paper, Mr. R. G. Rice gave many quotations from Sussex wills, in which the names of iron-founders were mentioned and references made to iron grave-slabs, etc.

BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.—April 17.—Dr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., in the chair.—Mr. C. E. Keyser, F.S.A., gave a very interesting exhibition of lantern slides, illustrating the Norman tympana of English church doorways, accompanied by an explanatory commentary. Mr. T. Cann Hughes, F.S.A., read a paper on "Some Recent Discoveries at Bleasdale, Lancashire."—Mr. G. Patrick, hon. secretary, announced that the annual congress would be held at Newcastle-on-Tyne from July 18 to July 24, both days inclusive, under the presidency of Thomas Hodgkin, Esq., M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.

The annual meeting of the SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY was held at Shrewsbury on April 17.—Lord Forester, who presided, moved the adoption of a satisfactory report and financial statement. The total receipts for the year amounted to £206, and for the first time in the society's history there is a small balance in hand after meeting the year's expenses. The annual report stated that during the past year the council had spent a considerable sum in refencing the Roman ruins at Wroxeter, but want of sufficient funds had prevented the excavations being recommenced. The Ancient Monuments Protection Act of last year would, the council believed, have very important results. Power was given by it to County Councils to purchase or accept any monument of historic or architectural interest within its area, and to make the necessary arrangements for its preservation. Dr. J. C. Bridge, organist of Chester Cathedral, afterwards gave an address on "Samuel Pepys and his Music," which was illustrated by musical selections in a quartette of "recorders," or ancient flutes, lent by the Cheshire Archæological Society.

At a meeting in April of the BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, the Rev. W. Bazeley lectured on the recent and proposed excavations on the site of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary, Hayles. He traced the history of the abbey from the time it was founded by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, to the present time. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in returning to England, was overtaken by a storm on nearing Land's End in Cornwall, and promised that if he ever reached land in safety he would erect an abbey. He did reach land safely, and bethought him of the beautiful Manor of Hayles, a gift to him from his brother, the King, and he there founded the Abbey of St. Mary's. The lecturer went on to describe the mode of living of the monks in the Cistercian abbeys, and gave the history of Hayles Abbey up to between 1251 and 1261. From the middle of the thirteenth century—the time of the great civil war between the King and the nobles—practically nothing was known of Hayles Abbey, but they knew that in 1271 some new work was commenced,

and finished in 1277, and also that in the reign of Henry VIII. it was dissolved in common with other monasteries because the monks refused to acknowledge Henry VIII.'s supremacy over the Pope. Between 1539 and 1540 it was demolished, the walls were pulled down, and the lead of the roof and the coffins was melted up in great stone vessels, one of which was found in the abbey itself, but a few feet from the high altar. Mr. Bazeley then described the excavations that had taken place. In 1899 they cleared the cloister walks and the chapter-house, where they found some very beautiful bosses. In 1900 they excavated the church, and found a very beautiful apse with five polygon chapels and the Shrine of the Holy Blood, thus proving the surmise that the abbey was a square-ended one to be incorrect. The lecturer mentioned that people all thought they were looking for the golden coffin of Richard, Earl of Cornwall. In the presbytery they found quite accidentally the skulls of Richard and Queen Sanchia, with some beautiful tiles and bits of broken sculpture. They also found the footings of the abbey's outer walls. They hoped to be able this year to excavate the infirmary with its hall, kitchens, chapels, etc., and the refectories, and they hoped with encouragement and help to be able to go on with their discoveries in this beautiful abbey for the sake of knowledge and posterity.

Reviews and Notices of New Books.

[Publishers are requested to be so good as always to mark clearly the prices of books sent for review, as these notices are intended to be a practical aid to book-buying readers.]

BERMONDSEY: ITS HISTORIC MEMORIES AND ASSOCIATIONS, with a Chapter on Bermondsey in Modern Times. By E. T. Clarke. Many illustrations, plans, and facsimiles. London: Elliot Stock. 1901. Large 8vo. Pp. xiv, 270. Price 12s. 6d. net.

There is little in the modern aspect of Bermondsey to convey to the minds of its residents any idea of historical memories or royal associations. Yet Bermondsey has had its day, and has played its part in the stately pageant of the times that are past. The existence of the famous Abbey of St. Saviour in its midst was the source of all its greatness. Here came Crusaders in mediæval battle array to swear at its altar allegiance to their sacred cause. Here followed kings and queens and nobles to render solemn homage, to keep fast or to celebrate festival, or to lay aside the trappings of the world for the poor habit of Cluny. In his book Mr. Clarke tells us all this and more, and having touched lightly on the principal occurrences, candidly claims not to have attempted to exhaust the interest attaching to the place. To this rapid flight across the centuries is undoubtedly due the want of that adequate fulness which is necessary to a clear understanding of statements made. On p. 8 we are told that Bermondsey

possessed a shrine, the fame of which gathered pilgrims from all quarters, and it is not until p. 43 is reached that we learn that the famous Rood of Grace was the object of their pilgrimage. On p. 8 a twenty-nine-line quotation, and on p. 82 another of twenty-five lines, is given as from "a writer on Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," and on p. 113 following a quotation of eight lines we are given the writer's name, Abbot Gasquet, O.S.B., the now well-known historian. It would be interesting to know the source whence Nicholas Breakspear, the only English Pope, is

the priory into an abbey in the days of Richard II., 200 marks were paid into the King's Hanaper in Chancery, and that the election of monks was not to be valid until the King's confirmation thereto had been obtained. Likewise Sir Thomas Pope, having reconveyed the estate with its appurtenances to Sir Robert Southwell in 1546, sold the manor he had reserved to himself to Robert Trapps, citizen and goldsmith of London (who died in the year 1560), and to Joan his wife (who survived her husband till 1563-64). The manor remained in the male branch of this family until 1709, when it



NORTH GATE, BERMONDSEY ABBEY, TAKEN DOWN IN 1805.

claimed as a Benedictine. The generally accepted story is that, presenting himself as a candidate at the great Abbey of St. Alban, he was refused admission on the score of his being the son of a married priest. The very excellent explanation and description of monasticism is not improved by the evident slip of the pen which labels such reforms of the Benedictine Order—as that of Cluny—as "fanaticism" which was prepared to go farther than the monasticism which Milman has sketched out in his *History of Latin Christianity*. On p. 88 it should be added that upon the erection of

was taken by marriage to Edward Thurlande, or Reigate. It was purchased in 1717 by Peter Hambley, of Streatham, who left it by will to his son William, of Carshalton, who in his turn bequeathed it to his only son, the Rev. Thomas Hambley, whose widow still possessed it in 1810.

The book is admirably got-up—print, paper and illustrations leaving nothing to be desired. To the inhabitants of Bermondsey, as well as to the historical and antiquarian student, it will come as a boon, the reproduction of old prints and plans being of particular value.

RAMBLES ROUND THE EDGE HILLS AND IN THE VALE OF THE RED HORSE. By the Rev. George Miller. Second edition. Eight illustrations. London: *Elliot Stock*. 1900. 8vo., pp. viii, 232. Price 6s.

In preparing this second edition of his pleasant book, Mr. Miller has usefully enlarged its scope. Casting his net a little wider than before, he has brought under notice a considerably larger area, and has also made somewhat extensive additions to the information and anecdotes relating to the inner circle of villages and old houses. Some of the latter, such as Compton Wynyates, are fairly well known, but others will be new to many readers. Mr. Miller gives a graphic description of the Battle of Edgehill, illustrated by three plans. The volume may be recommended as an admirable example of the combination of accurate antiquarian knowledge with much old-world lore, anecdotal and traditional, all presented in a very readable and pleasant style. All visitors to the Edge Hill district of beautiful Warwickshire will find Mr. Miller's book a charming pocket companion.

* * *

LLANDAFF CHURCH PLATE. By G. E. Halliday, F.R.I.B.A. Fifty-nine illustrations. London: *Bemrose and Sons, Limited*. 1901. 8vo., pp. x, 106. Price 12s. 6d. net.

It is highly desirable that a descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the church plate of every diocese or county should be issued. Not only is this to be wished for on antiquarian grounds, but also to prevent the alienation or destruction of old church plate, which has been far more commonly done in country parishes even in the last quarter of a century, than is usually supposed. Llandaff diocese possessed "only a few years ago" two examples of church plate of the reign of Edward VI., specimens of which are of great rarity, and in both cases they have been melted down to make new chalices! Such actions are wholly illegal without a faculty.

Mr. Halliday has done his work for the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth remarkably well, and it is to be hoped that the other Welsh dioceses will speedily follow this good example. Mr. Halliday starts his preface somewhat badly by writing of "either of the four Welsh dioceses"; but there cannot be much wrong with a volume about which the critic can only find fault with a grammatical slip.

The compiling of this catalogue has brought to light a piece of pre-Reformation plate which has hitherto been unchronicled, and has escaped the notice of Mr. Cripps. The Llanmaes paten now in use is much like the Nettlecombe example (1479); it is either of the year 1495 or 1535, as the cycles of Lombardic date letters are so similar at that period. We have little or no doubt from the good illustrations that it is of the earlier of the two dates. This makes the twentieth pre-Reformation paten now extant in England and Wales.

The two counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth are exceptionally rich in various forms of the Elizabethan chalice, mostly with the paten-cover. Mr. Halliday describes seventy-five specimens; the choicer and more exceptional ones are all

illustrated. At St. Mary's, Monmouth, is a magnificent standing cup and cover used as a chalice; it is of the year 1580, and was certainly originally made for secular purposes.

This well-printed and attractive-looking volume cannot fail to be of great interest to all ecclesiologists and intelligent church folk in Llandaff diocese, and will certainly be prized by those who are interested in old plate. The letterpress is good and sufficient, and there is a happy absence of vain repetitions as to the plate of often-cited old inventories—in short, there is not one line of padding.

* * *

BLACK COUNTRY SKETCHES: A SERIES OF CHARACTER STORIES ILLUSTRATING THE LIFE OF THE BLACK COUNTRY DISTRICT. By Amy Lyons. London: *Elliot Stock*. 1901. 8vo., pp. 116. Price 3s. 6d.

The idea of this little book is excellent. Mrs. Lyons has sought to illustrate, in a series of stories and sketches, the superstitions and sports, the manners and customs and beliefs, of the hard-working collier folk of the Black Country during the past century, and on the whole she has been fairly successful. Some of the superstitions and customs illustrated are, of course, not peculiar to the Midlands; but that fact does not detract from the interest of the book. Mrs. Lyons's sketches are interesting reading, and depict with no small success the actual life and thought of a district possessing many well-marked characteristics.

* * *

The *Architectural Review* continues its studies of art and architecture on the stage. To the April issue Mr. F. Hamilton Jackson contributes some beautiful drawings in illustration of notes on the production of *Twelfth Night* at Her Majesty's Theatre. There are also, *inter alia*, well-illustrated papers on "Tuscan Painting and Sculpture," by L. J. Oppenheimer; "The Cathedral Church of Worcester," by E. F. Strange; and "Persian Art," by H. Wilson. In the May number the most interesting article is a lavishly-illustrated study of "Modern Architecture in Holland." In the *Genealogical Magazine* for May further additions are made to the full official record of all ceremonies and proceedings connected with the demise of the Crown. Mr. A. C. Fox-Davies has a suggestive article on "The Shield of Empire," which will probably meet with considerable criticism. Mr. L. Cresswell elucidates the "Royal Descent of the Arnolds of Rugby," and there is an unsigned article on "'The Earldom of Wiltes.'"

* * *

We have also on our table *Fenland Notes and Queries* and the *East Anglian* (both for April), full of good matter, as usual; the *Architects' Magazine* (April); the *Essex Review* (April), containing the second of Miss C. F. Smith's papers on "The Western Family of Rivenhall," and another of Messrs. Miller, Christy and Porteous' always welcome articles on "Essex Brasses"; and the *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* for 1898.